

**Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of
class, place, governance and safety.**

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Abstract

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Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

This thesis analyses the ways in which young people conceptualise crime, policing, safety and security in their own localities. It draws upon primary empirical research to elicit the experiences and perceptions of young people in two coastal resorts. The methods employed in this research give voice to young people and aim to provide a greater understanding of their lives. An ethnographic study was conducted in two coastal resorts, one in England and one in Wales, and access to young people was facilitated through centre-based youth organisations and outreach work in the communities over a period of twelve months (six months in each locality). The research participants were aged between 10 and 17 years old. In total, 100 qualitative interviews were conducted: 23 semi-structured interviews with young people in the youth organisations and 77 unstructured qualitative interviews with young people 'on the street'. Additional qualitative data were also generated with young people in the youth organisations through a range of methods including: participant observation; various group work exercises; photographic methods; group discussions and other visual techniques. Additional data of 12 semi-structured interviews were generated with professionals in the field of crime prevention and youth work.

The thesis offers a significant contribution to knowledge about the experiences and perceptions of young people in two coastal resorts. The thesis illustrates how socio-economic characteristics of 'place' and 'social class' profoundly structure and shape young people's experiences and perceptions. The impact of social class on access and restrictions in public space, leisure pursuits, the formation of youth identities, attachment to place, fear of crime, and young people's securities and insecurities are all examined.

The context for the research, two very different coastal resorts in socio-economic terms, revealed significant differences in how young people are policed in coastal resorts; how youth policy impacts upon their everyday experiences; and how social class is a determining factor that shapes their lives. It also raised a number of questions regarding young people's safety in local public space. With respect to this, the research explored the main issues of concern for young people within and outside of crime prevention discourses and, in doing so, compared and contrasted the ways in which questions of youth, crime, youth governance, youth victimisation and related issues are expressed and represented in official policy discourses with that of young people's experiences and perceptions.

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Glossary of terms

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ACTO	Advisory Council of the Treatment of Offenders
ASB	Anti-social behaviour
ASBO	Anti-social Behaviour Order
BSA	British Sociological Association
BSC	British Society of Criminology
BCS	British Crime Survey
CAQDAS	Computer assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CDA	Crime and Disorder Act
CRDP	Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships
CSP	Community Safety Partnerships
CYPA	Children and Young Persons' Act
CYPSS	Children and Young People's Safety Survey
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
ESRC	Economic Social Research Council
FRE	Framework for Research Ethics
HMO	Houses In Multiple Occupation
ISSP	Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme
JLB	Juvenile Liaison Bureaux
JLO	Juvenile Liaison Officer
JLS	Juvenile Liaison Schemes
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
NGO	National Government Organisation
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PAYP	Positive Activities for Young People
SSP	Safer Schools Partnership
YCAP	Youth Crime Acton Plan
YIP	Youth Inclusion Programmes
YJB	Youth Justice Board
YOT	Youth Offending Team
YRD	Youth Restorative Disposal

Chapter One: Introduction

The governance of young people, and particularly youth justice systems, are driven by ever changing policy rationales. Indeed, since the mid-1990s England and Wales witnessed a change in the political and public climate regarding young people, resulting in a rise in their criminalisation and incarceration. Within this context the problem of crime continued to be constructed as a problem of 'youth' (Muncie, 1999a). In particular, young people received unprecedented attention by the media with tabloid newspapers frequently referring to 'them as "yobs", "thugs" and "louts", a portrait of "problematic" and "anti-social youths"' (Burney, 2005: 63). However, this is not a new phenomenon. The 1850s witnessed the same concerns and fears regarding young people whose behaviour was similarly deemed to be 'problematic' or 'deviant'. Children and young people could, during this period, be imprisoned as a result of pursuing a range of activities in the streets including playing football, flying kites, or any game considered to be an annoyance to the public and deemed illegal by The Vagrancy and Malicious Trespass Act of 1839 (Muncie, 2004: 58). As such, it becomes possible to see that 'youth and young people are much debated and highly contested elements of the social world' (Smith, 2011: 10), where young people's behaviour over the last two centuries has continually been 'singled out as symbolic of national moral decline' (Muncie, 2004: 52).

This PhD therefore, arose in 2008 out of an interest in the ways in which young people were constructed/represented as being 'disorderly' and 'anti-social' in public spaces. The term 'anti-social behaviour' as Waiton (2008: 338) acknowledged, had scarcely been used before the 1990s, however, 'the awareness and construction of this social problem has grown, and grown, and it is now understood to be a, if not the, problem facing society' (Waiton, 2008: 338). The emergence of 'anti-social behaviour' (ASB) and the ways in which young people were suggested as being the primary perpetrators of this new modern social problem I found interesting. Consequently, the ways in which the policing of 'anti-social behaviour' was experienced by young people I felt required further exploration. New Labour during their administration,

1997-2010, focused upon the 'anti-social' as targets of policy and introduced dispersal powers to tackle ASB. Alternatively, this could be seen as an extension of the governments agenda of social control 'aimed at 'enemies within', 'the underclass', 'criminals', the 'work-shy' ... and those with alternative lifestyles' (Coleman, 2004: 19). Instead of focusing specifically on anti-social behaviour, the research was concerned with how young people were governed and policed in their own locale. In particular, why young people's presence in public space becomes viewed as 'problematic' and the impact that this has on their lives. Importantly, I wanted to examine the wider 'harms' experienced and confronted by young people, which frequently lie outside current crime prevention paradigms, to understand from a young person's point of view, in a climate of perennial concern about young people and anti-social behaviour, how they conceptualised and experienced policing, crime, safety and security at the local level. To explore the impact on young people of New Labour's agenda to tackle anti-social behaviour which Crawford (2009a: 5) suggested dispersal powers can 'render young people more vulnerable; and reinforce a perception of young people as *a risk* to others rather than as *at risk* themselves'.

Second, previous research carried out for my Master's degree on the two case study sites, provided a contextual understanding of the way in which coastal resorts, one affluent and one deprived, were represented through the local press using content analysis. This previous research provided an insight into how crime and local problems were reported in the local press, how the priorities of the Community Safety Partnerships were represented, and also how perpetrators of crime were typified. Two very different coastal resorts were selected, in terms of socio-economic characteristics, to explore how social class impacted upon the ways in which young people were governed and policed in public space.

Third, before fieldwork commenced, there were relatively few empirical studies which took as their object of inquiry the experiences of young people in coastal resorts. In particular, relatively little is known about young people in coastal resorts, the significance of social class and/or the means by which they perceive and experience crime, policing, safety and security. The case study sites were selected,

therefore, to fill a lacuna in existing research, both by extending sociological analyses of coastal resorts and by explicitly privileging areas that are neither rural nor urban in form. This research, therefore, was undertaken at time of perennial concern about young people and anti-social behaviour and paradoxically amidst a climate of vast cuts to young people's services, causing charged debate across the academic, policy and practitioner communities and amongst the general public.

In order to address these issues, the thesis presents a piece of ethnographic research which explores the ways in which young people conceptualise and experience policing, governance, safety, security and harm in their own locality. The ethnography is of two case study sites; one in England and one in Wales with material collected through youth organisations and outreach youth work in the community. The research participants were aged between 10 and 17 years old. Six months were spent conducting fieldwork in each locality with multiple research methods employed. Qualitative data was generated by means of semi-structured interviews with young people in the youth organisation, participatory methods such as group work exercises, photographic methods, other visual techniques, and group discussions. Additional qualitative data was also generated through unstructured interviews with young people 'on the street' and through semi-structured interviews with professionals in the field. The data collection was supplemented by ethnographic observations at the youth organisations, and in the surrounding areas in which the fieldwork took place between 2010 and 2011.

Youth justice, the changing policy landscape and the experience of youth.

Between 1992 and 2002 the number of children and young people aged 10 to 17 sentenced to custody in England and Wales rose by almost 90 per cent. The number of under 15 year olds held in custody increased by a remarkable 800 per cent over the same period (Pitts, 2008: 36). The authoritarian backlash in the 1990s (Davies, 2005a) marked the beginning of a remarkably energetic level of legal response to young people unprecedented in legal history (Brownlee, 1998). With reports about

‘joy riders’, ‘bail bandits’, ‘persistent young offenders’ and outbreaks of civil unrest, the social construction of the young offender in high profile media coverage set the conditions for a ‘moral panic’ about young people (Cohen, 1972).

The murder of two-year-old James Bulger by two ten year old boys in Merseyside in 1993 had significant implications for political responses to youth crime and functioned to heighten the ‘moral panic’ surrounding young people in England and Wales. James Bulger’s death was exploited to the full, ‘a catalyst for the consolidation of an authoritarian shift in youth justice...a shift which, in legal and policy initiatives, was replicated throughout all institutional responses to children and young people’ (Scruton, 1997: 170). This single event had a profound and lasting impact on legislation. John Major, Prime Minister of the Conservative government, 1990-1997, declared in 1993 that ‘society needs to condemn a little more and understand a little less’ (Cited in Pitts, 2008: 39) reflecting a punitive turn that had already begun to escalate with regards to young people in ‘trouble’. While the Conservatives talked ‘tough’ and reasserted themselves as the party of law and order, it was New Labour whom endorsed a tough ‘no excuses’ approach to youth crime.

With New Labour’s election in 1997 under Tony Blair a ‘regulatory-disciplinary approach to crime prevention, combined with ‘welfarist’ assistance to help people meet its standards’ was implemented (Johnston and Bottomley, 1998: 177). New Labour incorporated into legislation the most dramatic transformation of the youth justice system in recent history. Between May 1997 and May 2007, 3023 new offences were introduced by the New Labour government (Pitts, 2008: 35). This ‘new youth justice’, as described by Goldson (2000), was central to New Labour’s increased management and control of young people. Central to New Labour’s youth policies were a crime and disorder and anti-social behaviour campaign. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 served to completely restructure the youth justice apparatus (Goldson, 2005). The Act controversially abolished the long-standing principle of *doli incapax* and included the introduction of the following:

1. Youth Justice Board for England and Wales,
2. Youth Justice Service,

3. Youth Offending Teams,
 4. A system of pre-court reprimands and final warnings,
 5. Parenting Orders,
 6. Anti-Social Behaviour Orders,
 7. Local Child Curfews,
 8. New kinds of Community Order: Action Plan Orders and Reparation orders,
 9. And a new custodial disposal: the Detention and Training Order
- (Davies et al., 2005: 222-223).

The centrality of the anti-social behaviour rhetoric to ‘the new securitisation agenda’ (Brown 2013) has been critical in justifying new forms of policing that serve to portray young people as a particularly ‘undesirable group’. This popular imaginary of young people as the key perpetrators of anti-social behaviour during New Labour’s administration was fuelled by ‘sensationalising media reports about the reign of terror that young people were exacting over public spaces’ (Brown, 2013: 540). In turn anti-social behaviour policy has reciprocally fed back into ‘negative stereotypes of youth and positioned young people as a metaphor for deeper social malaise’ (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 380). Young people in particular have been excluded from public spaces through a range of explicit and implicit measures, most notably Dispersal Orders that again exacerbate concerns over youths’ presence in public space.

In the immediate years after New Labour, youth justice remained substantially determined by the central government agenda of targeted and measurable crime and disorder criteria. New Labour introduced the idea of ‘scientific certainty into the identification assessment and management of potential sources of trouble and disorder’ (Smith, 2011: 87). The attempt to quantify and control the problem of youth crime has evolved and continued under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government elected in 2010. As Smith (2011: 2) notes:

“The essential problem with such approaches is that they do not engage with, or even admit as relevant, the realities of the lives of children and young people; as a result, they are unable to enter any kind of meaningful relationship with those they purport to ‘know’ through the application of

‘validated’ risk assessment tools and standardised inquiries into those aspects of their lives that are deemed pertinent”.

Smith (2011: 2) argues that the use of risk assessment tools limits the potential to gain any real knowledge about young people’s lives and the reality of how those lives are lived. In contrast, the structure of this research was designed to establish meaningful relationships with young people in order to gain a greater degree of insight into their lives. The research focused on the ‘narratives and accounts derived from young people themselves’ (Muncie, 2009: 153) and employed innovative participatory research methods involving young people in order to facilitate a depth of understanding of their opinions, alongside traditional qualitative interviews. The participatory nature of this research engaged young people as equal and full participants (Stringer, 2007) and the ethnographic methods employed at the micro-level sought to provide a rich understanding of the participant’s views. In order to understand how young people are policed and governed and how they conceptualise and experience safety, security and harm, the research takes the stance that young people are experts in their own world. ‘[W]e must assume that they can play an active role in making sense of the world around them, and the messages that are conveyed to them by the formal (and informal) institutions of society such as schools and the media’ (Smith, 2011: 3).

By means of its empirical, ethnographic focus, the thesis also sought to understand the social context in which sense making narratives are constructed by young people. The importance of this contextual understanding is foregrounded by MacDonald and Marsh (2005: 172) in their assertion that ‘too little room is given in orthodox criminological studies to understanding the active role of young people and the particular historical, cultural and socio-economic conditions of neighbourhoods’. Chapter Five pays tribute to this and discusses in detail the conditions in which the young people who were the focus of the study lived.

Moralising and constructing 'problematic youth'

"The language of law and order is sustained by moralisms...where the great syntax of 'good' versus 'evil', of civilised and uncivilised standards, of the choice between anarchy and order constantly divides the world up and classifies it into its appointed stations" (Hall, 1979: 19 cited in Scraton, 2004: 130).

Young people have attracted 'more theorising and moralising in the past century than almost any other social group' (Humphries, 1981: 1). We have been plagued by the same concerns and fears, which characterise the youth of the day as 'problematic', from one generation to the next (Pearson, 1983). Since 1815 various institutions have imposed social control on a specific, identifiable group of young people - the poor and the working class - upon whom a populist vision of moral meltdown, with a well-documented historical persistence, is built (Pearson, 1983). The significance of social class and the impact upon young people's lives and their experiences of social control is the frame within which the research took place. The research explores the relevance of social class when conducting youth research, and the impact on young people's experiences: that experience is class determined. Thus, anxieties about youth reflect not only concerns regarding criminal transgressions but also with the breaking of moral and social codes (Muncie, 2009). It is this preoccupation with the risk posed by young people who do not conform to conventional norms that has resulted in controlling forms of intervention designed to prevent 'unacceptable behaviour'. However, as Smith (2011) argues wider structural forces, such as the state, media and other major institutions determine in advance what behaviours are deemed acceptable or criminal. By recognising the unequal relationship between an individual and these wider structural factors this thesis seeks to illustrate young people's experiences and narratives within the context of their structural position, especially their classed status, 'which they inhabit both as young people and as members of different social groups in an unequal and dynamic world' (Davies, 2005b: 1). The structures and mechanisms by which social order and disorder are constituted and deviant populations are characterised, are examined in Chapter Two.

The thesis derives its impetus from, and is conducted within, the policy context outlined above, taking as its central focus the experiences of young people that live in two coastal resorts. The analysis outlined above raises questions about how young people are targeted by interventions, policed and about the harms that they experience. This thesis provides a perceived need for a realistic account of young people's everyday experiences in order to develop an understanding of how their experiences are shaped by societal factors and structural influences.

A study of this kind has the capacity to contribute to the literature in a number of respects. In the case of research on 'youth', the study contributes specific and contingent data by listening to the voices of young people who have specialist knowledge on the subject and their own subjectivity. The contributions made in this capacity are evidenced by the participatory methods used which adds to the growing interest in the field of criminology that recognises the importance of young people's rights and voices (James and Prout, 1997; Thomson, 2008; Heath et al., 2009; Freeman and Mathison, 2009; Lewis and Lindsay, 2000; Best, 2007; Matthews et al., 1998; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Christensen, 2004).

Despite the increasing focus on qualitative research in criminology there remain a limited number of qualitative studies that focus specifically on young people's experiences of harm at the local level (Nacro, 2009; Davies et al., 2003; Deakin, 2006). Too often studies exploring crime control fail to include the experiences of young people in their research. Failing to recognise the importance of the voices of this particular group, consequently limits any real understanding of the current situation. In a contemporary society where the 'problem of crime' is often reconstructed as the problem of young people or 'youth crime' (Muncie, 1999a), their victimisation and fear are rarely mentioned or addressed in crime prevention policy. By including these extremely important views it is only then we can begin to understand the impact that policies and laws have on young people, and how they experience policing, security and safety in a locality. The thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of the impact of crime prevention policy on young people, young people's victimisation and fear of crime, and also their regulation and governance in public space.

Further to this, the thesis adds new primary empirical research to the field regarding young people in coastal resorts. The existing academic literature on coastal resorts has tended to focus solely on the relationship between crime and tourism (see Mawby et al., 1999; Mawby and Jones, 2004b; Gill et al., 1993). The case study sites - two coastal resorts, - were therefore selected to fill a lacuna in existing research, both by extending the nature of the sociological engagement with young people's experiences of living in a coastal resorts and by concentrating on areas that are neither rural, nor characterised by a high degree of urbanism.

Research aims and objectives

This thesis set out to explore and analyse the ways in which young people conceptualise and experience policing, crime, safety and security in two coastal resorts. Two coastal resorts were consciously chosen to explore how class might frame young people's experiences and perceptions. By selecting one relatively affluent and one disadvantaged coastal resort the thesis examines the ways in which questions of youth, crime, youth victimisation and related issues are expressed and represented in official policy discourse. By examining and critically analysing the congruence of official representations with the actual experiences of young people within, and between, two localities in England and Wales the central issue of social class was revealed. Social class and the way in which it impacted upon young people's lives and their experiences of social control became the frame within which the research took place. The thesis additionally explored the main issues of concern for young people within, and outside of, crime prevention discourses to contribute to a contextualised understanding of young people's lives living in coastal resorts.

Confidentiality, terminology and definitions

The names of the young people who participated in the study and the names of the localities where they lived have been changed to protect the participants from

identification and to ensure anonymity. Particular care has been taken not to include data that would be recognisable to avoid the identification of the study sites and pseudonyms have therefore been used for each locality. 'Sandton' refers to the case study site in England and 'Rockford' to the Welsh locality.

Within this study, the terms 'young people' and 'young person' are used interchangeably to describe the participants who were involved (interviewees ranged in age from 10 to 17 years old). While the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (which was ratified by the UK Government in 1991) and the Children Acts of 1989 and 2004 define a 'child' as any person under 18 years of age (DfES, 2006: 34), many interview participants (and much government policy) favour the term 'young person'.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis seeks to locate the primary empirical research within its historical and political contexts. Chapter Two historicises the function of the state and institutions within England and Wales, by examining the roles fulfilled by statutory and voluntary agencies in addressing the problem of youth crime or 'delinquent youth' during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Starting with the first official inquiry into juvenile delinquency in 1815 the ways and means by which young people have been governed since then are explored. The chapter historicises and critically considers the relationship between young people and the evolving role of the state and the criminalisation of young people. It essentially details the formal and informal developments in regulating the behaviour of working class youth whilst exploring discourses that have been attached to 'troublesome youth' from early nineteenth century Britain.

Moving on from an analysis of historical trends continuities and changes, Chapter Three, concentrates on more contemporary policies relating to the governance of young people. Building on and developing many of the themes introduced in Chapter Two - for example the contested and shifting boundaries between statutory and voluntary welfare responsibilities - the chapter traces policy developments since the

1950s with a particular focus on the role of the police. It details the informal developments in the regulation of young people's behaviour in the form of the youth service and in the arena of leisure, alongside more formal state intervention. It presents an argument to the effect that, although successive political administrations have each had distinct priorities in their approach to youth justice, post-1997 there has been an intensification of youth justice policies and a significant change in how young people have been regulated. The second part of Chapter Three deals with more contemporary youth justice policy that has promoted further regulation and governance of young people. Following discussions on the social constructions of the 'anti-social youth' the chapter examines the literature on youth victimisation, arguing that young people are more likely to be constructed as offenders rather than as victims (Nacro, 2009).

Having provided the historical, policy and political foundation for the thesis in Chapters Two and Three, Chapter Four accounts for, and reflects upon, the research design and the methodological approach adopted in the primary empirical research. It situates the research in the broader disciplines of criminology and the sociology of youth and discusses the development of qualitative participatory methods, which are understood as the most appropriate way to empower and respect young people in the research process. The chapter addresses the ethical issues involved in research with young people, and details the manner in which these issues were approached with a particular focus on the issue of consent. In addition, the chapter discusses the semi-structured interviews with representatives from the police, youth offending teams, and youth workers locally, which were conducted. A grounded theory approach was used in the analysis of interview transcripts to identify emergent themes throughout the research process. Furthermore, a reflexive approach to the research was adopted, and critical reflections on the fieldwork processes are included in this chapter.

As stated, the empirical research for this thesis was conducted in two coastal resorts. Chapter Five presents a detailed profile of each of the case study sites providing

demographic and socio-economic characteristics in order to set the scene and contextualise the locations in which the fieldwork was conducted.

The findings of the primary empirical research are presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. The first of these chapters explores young people's experiences of living in a coastal resort. Factors associated with living in a 'tourist' location and the impact that this has on young people's leisure and play opportunities are subjected to analysis. In particular, the determining influence of social class on restricting and enabling play and the corresponding differences in leisure or free time is reflected upon. Similarly to the leisure pursuits of young people in the nineteenth century discussed in Chapter Two, Chapter Six demonstrates that 'the streets' remain a popular social arena, particularly in more working class communities. As it raises questions about place and class, the chapter evokes themes of identity and territoriality, demonstrating that young people take identity seriously. In coming to an understanding of how the 'anti-social youth' is constructed, the chapter details the processes by which certain groups are 'demonised' or 'othered' (Garland, 2001). The two case study sites are examined in terms of their differences with respect to how constituencies of young people become 'problematised' and singled out as objects of social concern.

Chapter Seven provides evidence to suggest that young people's experiences and perceptions of 'policing' and 'governance' are 'place' specific. The data presented challenges dominant assumptions and previous academic research when exploring young people's experiences and perceptions of policing and governance. Interestingly, the chapter argues that the young people in Rockford were policed less intensively than the young people in Sandton, whilst paradoxically being governed by other agencies of formal control. The chapter continues to revolve around the core themes of class-based regulation and governance of young people. The significance of 'place' and the presence of young people in public space is thus explored in greater detail, documenting the targeting and regulation of young people by the police to ensure that urban spaces are viewed as safe (Raco, 2003).

Chapter Eight examines young people's experiences of safety and security in public space. It explores young people's perceptions and experiences of victimisation arising from the environment in which they live. Young people's worries and concerns revealed how 'place', 'class' and 'youth' functioned as key determinants in shaping perceptions of securities and insecurities. These perceptions and experiences resonate with many of the themes relating to populist discourses about 'stranger danger' and 'anti-social youths'. Significant differences in whom the young people in each case study site 'feared' reflected the influence of class and place on young people's perceptions and experiences. However, in both coastal resorts adults were a cause for concern and a perceived source of potential harm. The chapter therefore raises the issue about problematising groups of young people in public space which inevitably diverts attention away from adults.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by drawing together the themes in prior chapters to consider the research as a whole. The chapter argues that young people's experiences in this research were class determined and a young person's socio-economic status impacted upon their experiences and perceptions of policing, safety, security and harm. The chapter argues that amidst a climate of cuts, in particular affecting young people with a reduction to youth service spending, the presence of young people in public space continues to be viewed as 'problematic' that requires governance. The reliance on policing and governing young people through the police officer 'on the streets' and through targeted youth intervention programmes, continues to exist when many youth organisations have been closed and do not exist to provide alternative 'spaces of security' for young people. The thesis provides evidence of the ways in which young people experience threats to their personal safety and security on a daily basis, and from these narratives the importance of providing safe sanctuaries for young people are of paramount importance. By eliciting the views of young people, this thesis highlights the importance of listening to their views and the importance of using participatory methods when engaging with young people in the research process.

Chapter Two: Recurring anxieties about youth: place, order and regulation.

Introduction

Historically, particular groups of young people have been considered a threat to the social order, requiring regulation and control (Cohen, 2002; Pearson, 1983; Humphries, 1981). The governance of youth has, therefore, evolved and developed through various institutions and agencies regulating the everyday lives of young people, particularly working class young people, through education, employment and leisure (Muncie, 1984; Humphries, 1981). This chapter explores the evolving role of the state in the management of youth and argues that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, working class young people have been the focus of dominant middle class concerns, and subjected to ‘various bourgeois agencies of control, manipulation and exploitation’ (Humphries 1981: 1). Recurring anxieties about youth reflect concerns not just about criminal transgressions, but also particular moral transgressions, the breaking of moral and social codes (Muncie, 2009). This chapter explores specific moments in time when young people have been considered particularly ‘problematic’ and focuses on the different (re)-constructions of young people since the nineteenth century. It illustrates how the presence of young people in public spaces has been the cause of official anxiety from 1815 and so provides the historical context for the contemporary debates discussed in Chapter Three.

The chapter does not attempt to give a detailed historical chronology of policy and legislative changes that have impacted upon young people’s lives; rather, it offers a broad thematic account of the evolving regulation and social control of working class young people. In doing so, it questions idealist orthodox accounts that have represented the history of youth as being a process of progressive reform and

enlightenment as a result of which children and young people have been the recipients of humanitarian protection and care (Muncie, 2009; Humphries, 1981). In the process of exploring the development of state intervention into the lives of the young working class, class becomes the conceptual reference point for the thesis. The primary significance of social class functions as the framework within which socially and culturally constructed concepts of youth and the everyday experiences of young people are discussed. The chapter examines two distinct and separate processes that have evolved since 1815; the formal and informal regulation and governance of working class young people. In doing so the chapter takes as its starting point the first official inquiry into juvenile delinquency in 1815 by the *Society for Investigating the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis*.

The chapter begins by outlining the principal causes of 'juvenile delinquency' as they were defined by the 1815 inquiry. It then explores the impact that the Industrial Revolution had on young people, in particular in defining the spaces which they could and could not legitimately occupy, and proceeds to discuss the rescue and reformatory movements that emerged and developed throughout the early-mid nineteenth century. The remainder of the chapter details the statutory foundations of juvenile justice and the developing role of state intervention into the lives of working class young people. The development of a universal youth service and the emergence of uniformed youth organisations, in the form of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, are charted in recognising the informal regulation and governance of working class young people. An exploration of the criminalisation of young people concludes the chapter, highlighting the escalation of various police powers and legislation targeting young people that are very much in accord with the contemporary moment.

Industrialisation, investigation and intervention

Investigating the causes of 'juvenile delinquency': The 1815 inquiry

The particular focus on children and young people that led to the first official inquiry into juvenile delinquency in 1815 was largely the result of profound socio-economic changes in Britain from 1750 to the mid-nineteenth century. The processes of urbanisation and industrialisation created concerns among the middle classes about the developing political consciousness of the labouring classes and also anxieties about the moral health of children and young people (Emsley, 1996; Hendrick, 2003). As such, the early nineteenth century has been recognised as a period that marked the 'invention' or 'discovery' of 'juvenile delinquency' (King, 1998; Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986) or a re-conceptualisation of the juvenile delinquent (Shore, 1999; Muncie, 2009).

The 1815 inquiry, conducted as a result of widespread concern by the Philanthropic Society¹, prompted the establishment of a committee 'to obtain every possible information respecting the nature and causes of the evil in question, in order to ascertain the most efficient means of removing it' (Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1973: 433). A detailed one year inquiry was undertaken by the members of the committee who visited prisons in London and interviewed the children and young people within their confines. In 1816, the *Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis* found that the principal causes of juvenile delinquency were:

"The improper conduct of parents, the want of education, the want of suitable employment, the violation of the Sabbath, and habits of gambling in the public streets" (Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis, 1816: 10-11).

The 1816 report recommended that children in prison should be separated from adults in order to save them from contamination (Muncie, 2009; Carpenter, 1851) as

¹The Philanthropic Society formed in 1788 for the 'Prevention of Vice and Misery among the Poor' amidst concern over rising crime and 'moral degradation' in growing urban areas. It was the first institution to try and reform poor criminal children (King 2006).

‘children should not be dealt with as men [sic], but as children’ (May, 1973: 42). Before this time the law had very little to say about the child and, as Frost (2011) points out, it was very difficult to identify any state institutions that were specifically aimed at the child until the second half of the nineteenth century. The 1816 report, therefore, marked the beginning of a distinct social category of children and young people, paving the way for a separate system for dealing with them.

Industrialisation, urbanisation and the ‘dangerous classes’

The Industrial Revolution resulted in a massive rural to urban migration of children, young people and adults seeking employment in the rapidly expanding towns and cities meaning that ‘the early industrial cities... became overcrowded, filthy, insanitary, breeding grounds for disease, squalor and degradation’ (Evans, 2001: 163-4). The threat of ‘the dangerous classes who lived in the slums’ (Hendrick, 2005: 23), the poor and working class and the apparent poverty and deprived conditions in which they lived and worked, were all components of the drastic economic, social and political change of the period (Goldson, 1997). Within this context cheap labour, traditionally in the form of child labour, was an embedded feature of the newly developing capitalist society of the Industrial Revolution, which witnessed a ‘drastic increase in the intensity of exploitation of child labour’ (Thompson 1968: 366). Because children and young people ‘shared very fully the life of adults... since they had to work for survival’ (Thane, 1981: 16) ‘children became significant contributors to the family income, for example, in the first decades of the nineteenth century 80 percent of workers in English cotton mills were children’ (Gillis, 1974; Morris and Giller, 1987: 4). However, a changing attitude towards child employment was reflected in legislation, notably the Factory Acts.

Beginning in 1802, the Factory Acts started to regulate and protect children and young people under the age of 18 who worked in cotton mills and factories. The Factory Acts of 1819 and 1833 outlawed the employment of children under the age of nine in cotton mills and factories, required nine to thirteen year olds to attend two hours of school each day and restricted the hours young people could work. The

Factory Act of 1901 ended child labour for children under the age of twelve, and limited the hours of employment for 12-18 year olds (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 1973). Importantly, the Factory Acts represented the first time that the 'government removed sole autonomy for children's upbringing from parents and made it subject to regulation' (Stack and McKechnie, 2002: 88). However, whilst the Factory Acts may be interpreted as being progressive and designed to protect children from the brutalising conditions that they suffered (Springhall, 1986) they 'served also to compound their marginalisation and impoverishment' (Goldson, 1997: 5). Children under the age of nine were now left without employment opportunities and those over this age who could legally work were competing for employment in an escalating urban population. Consequently, income was taken away from families which then resulted in parents seeking further employment to compensate for the loss (Muncie, 2009). The outcome of these changes was an expanding urban population of young people for whom there was little, if any, legitimate place (Goldson, 1997).

Institutionalisation of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' young

Child vagrancy was a prominent feature of the early nineteenth century. Due to diminishing employment opportunities, the visibility of children and young people in public space underpinned the founding of the 'child rescue movement' (Goldson, 1997; Platt, 1969). Robert Young, who founded the Philanthropic Society, experienced concern regarding 'the large number of children who haunted the streets and alleys of London, without or beyond parental control and protection, drifting into a life of petty crime and violence' (Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1973: 419). 'Children of the poor' were perceived to be *at risk* from the corruption of city life and also *a risk* to middle class children by means of contamination (Savage, 2007) and raised anxieties about young people 'running wild on the streets' (Cunningham, 1996).

Institutions such as Industrial schools and reformatories were introduced to detain specific groups of children and young people based on the 'rhetoric of moral rehabilitation proposed by social reformers and child savers' (Humphries, 1981: 212). Just as the 1815 inquiry - at least in part - prompted the 'child rescue' movement, the

reformatory movement offered to remove the social threat of poor and disorderly young people and place them in institutions in which they were exposed to repressive regimes of discipline and religion (Humphries, 1981). Whilst reformatory schools were ostensibly established as alternatives to adult prisons and houses of correction (Muncie, 2009) with the concomitant establishment of Industrial Schools they represented a process whereby the state gradually came to assume the responsibility of 'parent' for one in every 230 of the juvenile population (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1986: 181). As such, the reformatories have been described as 'instruments of class oppression' (Springhall, 1977; Humphries, 1981: 203-39).

Mary Carpenter, an influential reformer, argued for intervention based on a two tier model of 'perishing' and 'dangerous' juveniles, which echoed the provision for the deserving and undeserving poor institutionalised in the New Poor Law 1834 (Shore, 1999: 7). Carpenter distinguished between the 'deprived' and the 'perishing classes' on the one hand and the 'depraved' and 'dangerous classes' on the other, and advocated Industrial Schools for the former and Reformatories for the latter. The institutions that she promoted gained legal status in the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act and the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. Moral discourses were also expressed by evangelical reformers who placed blame on parents' 'lack of sufficient moral training' (Pearson, 1983; Hendrick, 2005) and a resulting agenda of moral and Christian education was imposed on the young through the Industrial and Reformatory Schools (Emsley, 2005). The Industrial and Reformatory Schools imposed social control on an identifiable group of working class young people. With the purpose of preparing the young for life through the value of labour and the imposition of discipline through work and religious education the intention was 'the return of individuals as useful members of their social class' (Morris and Giller, 1987: 19). The institutions were also characterised by explicitly gendered regimes whereby boys carried out mainly labouring duties and girls' work was domestic and included cooking, cleaning and laundry (Humphries, 1981; Muncie, 2009). The introduction of Reformatory and Industrial Schools governing the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' young effectively served to remove a specific constituency of young people from public space.

Education, education, education

The Education Act of 1870 introduced compulsory schooling for all young people. Springhall (1986: 70) claims that this can be framed in 'crude economic terms as conveniently removing large numbers of unskilled child workers from a flooded labour market'. This move occurred at a time of economic and social uncertainty where the problem of 'youth' once again became an increasing source of concern.

Amidst growing industrial competition, especially from Germany, and alongside unsuccessful British attempts in the Boer War, Britain was desperate to promote national efficiency and to maintain the British Empire (Hendrick, 1990; Springhall, 1977; Humphries, 1981; Davies, 1999). The physical health of soldiers was seen to be deteriorating and a reason for Britain's defeats in her military campaigns. Education was deemed to be necessary in order to improve the moral fibre and physical strength of the nation: 'the civilising mission of social imperialism' (Humphries, 1981: 14). Germany's 'highly organised educational system' (Hendrick, 1990: 23) received maximum attention from British reformers. Educating generations of potential military recruits would, it was thought, help to provide military power and strength for the future, whilst at the same time complementing the impact of reformatories and Industrial Schools in controlling working class youth.

In this way, education became part of the disciplinary machinery for socialising young people (Foucault, 1977). Schools were a means of regulation and supervision and norms and morals could be instilled through the classroom. Children and young people were taken from the dangerous 'illegitimate' space of the streets and the work place and placed into the highly regulated 'legitimate' space of schools. It follows that compulsory schooling was 'the single most important means of taming the young and clearing the streets' (Holt, 1992: 142) and how the school played a pivotal role in the construction of a new kind of childhood in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Hendrick, 1990). Reformers principally claimed that educating working class children and young people was best enacted through moral and Christian education (Emsley, 2005). Working class children were subjected to strict

and regimented routines that tried to shape future lifestyles and instil attendance, punctuality and discipline within the bounds of strictly gendered subjectivities (see Humphries, 1981; Muncie, 2009).

If the 'problem of youth' and 'juvenile delinquency' was constructed by means of social inquiry, employment legislation, the efforts of reformers and philanthropic organisations, and a liberal narrative of education, discipline and order (Humphries, 1981), by the end of the nineteenth century a discrete juvenile justice system had been established for the first time in history legitimised by discourses of care and protection (Muncie 2009). Indeed, the nineteenth century witnessed a turning point in the ways in which 'juvenile delinquency' and 'delinquent' youth were conceptualised and constructed and gave rise to a new apparatus of social control (King, 1998; Shore, 1999; May, 1973; Gillis, 1975; Magarey, 1978). 'The problem of youth' as a social phenomenon was a direct consequence of economic conditions and rapid industrialisation and children and young people came to be governed and regulated in new ways (Shore, 2003).

Statutory foundations of 'modern' juvenile justice

The Children Act of 1908 served to reinforce the dominant responses that had consolidated through the nineteenth century, and to underline the distinction between a civil (welfare) jurisdiction for the management of the 'needy' child (victim), and a criminal jurisdiction (justice) for the regulation and control of the child 'offender' (threat) (Goldson, 2002: 123). The fundamental distinction advocated by Mary Carpenter in 1853 endured. However, the 1908 Act also blurred the boundaries between deprivation and depravation and 'it made the juvenile court itself a locus for conflict and confusion, a vehicle for the simultaneous welfarization of delinquency and the jurisdicization of need' (Harris and Webb, 1987: 9). The provisions of the 1908 Act served not only to legitimise but also to extend state intervention and supervision of mainly working class children (Goldson, 2002; Platt, 1969) in attempting 'to fulfil simultaneously the two potentially incompatible roles of punishment and treatment' (Springhall, 1986: 177).

Almost two decades later, in January 1925, William Joynson-Hicks, the then Conservative Home Secretary, appointed a committee, chaired by Sir Thomas Molony, to investigate the treatment of 'young offenders'. The Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders (Home Office 1927: 6) reported that:

"There is little or no difference in character and needs between the neglected and the delinquent child. It is often a mere accident whether he is brought before the court because he is wandering or beyond control or because he has committed some offence. Neglect leads to delinquency and delinquency is often the direct outcome of neglect".

The recommendations of the Committee served as the foundation for the Children and Young Persons Act (CYPA) 1933. The Act raised the age of criminal responsibility from seven to eight years old and this remained in place until 1963. Furthermore, Section 44 of the Act established that 'every court in dealing with a child or young person who is brought before it, either as an offender or otherwise, shall have regard to their welfare' (cited in Muncie and Hughes, 2002: 7). Differences between the principles of welfare and of justice dominated debates from the 1930s up until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 (Springhall, 1986).

After the Second World War the competing notions of welfare and justice continued to underpin key political debates impacting upon the lives of the young. Following the 1946 Curtis Committee Report, the Children Act 1948 established, for the first time, local authority children's departments based on social casework theory, and hailed as 'a landmark in the development of British state social work' (Jones, 2002: 103). The legislation provided that local authorities 'must take into care any children whose parents did not properly provide for them or where for some other reason was receiving inadequate care' (Alcock and Harris 1982:88 cited in Brown, 2005: 76). Working class families were again problematised, and became targets of state intervention directed towards the re-education and re-moralisation of the 'problem family' (Jones, 2002: 105). By the late 1940s, therefore, a recognisably modern legislative and institutional framework had been established to manage working class

young people. The same framework was pitted with tensions and contradictions: care and control, welfare and justice, and the deserving and the undeserving. A further tension rested with the relations between families and the state and this was particularly pertinent with regard to working class adolescents.

The role of the state, child and parent

Indeed, during the 1890s and 1900s the issue of parental control and other forms of supervision and guidance featured prominently in the child psychology literature (Hendrick, 1990: 123) and, over the period 1870-1900, the concept of 'adolescence' was 'discovered', popularised and debated and 'adolescents' were regarded as requiring constant supervision (Gillis, 1975; Platt, 1969). Adolescence was conceived as an 'impressionable stage of life' (Humphries, 1981: 10) particularly with regard to the young working class who 'were thought to be most likely to display delinquent and rebellious characteristics in the life cycle' (Humphries, 1981: 17). It follows Hendrick (1990: 83) who claims that through the invention of adolescence reformers were attempting to enforce their own norms over working class life. Unsupervised youth caused concern with regard to their behaviour; from breaking laws or acting in a 'disorderly' manner, to 'larking about' (Humphries, 1981). In order to maintain and develop a generation of 'healthy' and 'functional' young people, parents had to assume responsibility otherwise the state could legitimately intervene. In a speech by Lord Bishop Ripon, Vice President of the Infantile Mortality Conference in 1906, he declared that:

"All children are the natural care of the state, and ...where parental responsibility is not understood and acted upon, we must for the very sake of the preservation of the state, step in... we are bound at all costs to see that the children grow up in such a fashion that they become useful, serviceable, and profitable citizens of this great Empire" (Parliamentary Debates, Fourth Series Vol.195, Col.224 cited in Stewart 1995: 95).

This echoed the conclusions of the 1815 inquiry that 'inadequate parenting' was a cause of juvenile delinquency and that the very fact that a child had committed a crime was 'an indictment of his upbringing by the parent' (Stewart, 1995: 95). The

view that young working class people required specific intervention resulted in 'new forms of social control' (Platt, 1969: xx).

Youth provision and the intervention of the state

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the work of the youth movement came to be formally recognised and led incrementally to the development of more ambiguous relationships between youth organisations and government (Hendrick 1990). Charles Russell, Chair of a Home Office Committee in 1908, recommended that 'juvenile organisation committees should be set up locally to coordinate and stimulate youth provision' (cited in Davies, 1999: 15). These were enforced in law by the 1918 and 1921 Education Acts which established, for the first time, a relationship between voluntary youth organisations and the state. Nonetheless, the impact of state involvement in the provision of youth work was limited owing to financial constraints, which continue to have ramifications for youth work to the present day (Davies, 1999: 15). However, for a period in the 1930s, concerns over national efficiency and the health of the nation superseded financial constraints and led to the introduction of the 1937 Physical Training and Recreation Act. The Act reflected a commitment from government to a level of state-sponsorship of youth work, enabling local authorities to establish facilities in order to improve the physical fitness levels of young people, especially boys and young men (Davies, 1999).

The government's concern over national efficiency and the health of the nation played out consistently in the inter-war years and in particular at periods when young people seemed to pose a threat to social stability (Davies, 1986). The concern that periods of social upheaval - produced by war conditions - might lead to an increase in juvenile delinquency motivated the government to adopt a more interventionist role in youth provision. On the 27th November 1939 the Board of Education issued a *Circular 1486*, to Local Education Authorities (Board of Education 1939), which marked the beginning of the youth service in England and Wales and 'brought a service of youth into existence' (Davies, 1999: 7). The Circular 1486 gave 14 voluntary youth organisations official status including the power to nominate new local youth

committees and formally recognised the emerging concept of youth work. The Circular stated that:

“The social and physical development of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 20, who have ceased full-time education, has for long been neglected in this country. In spite of the efforts of local education authorities and voluntary organisations, provision has always fallen short of the need and today considerably less than half of these boys and girls belong to any organisation. In some parts of the country, clubs and other facilities for social and physical recreation are almost non-existent. War emphasises this defect in our social services; today the black-out, the strain of war and the disorganisation of family life have created conditions which constitute a serious menace to youth. The Government are determined to prevent the recurrence during this war of the social problem which arose during the last” (Board of Education 1939).

The Board of Education in 1939 was now ‘directly responsible for youth welfare’ and youth organisations were regarded as an educational resource (Davies, 1999: 19). Funding was made available ‘to help clubs hire premises, buy equipment and provide competent leaders’ and by September 1940 this had resulted in the establishment of 1,700 new units, or clubs (Davies, 1999: 19). Circular 1516, issued in June 1940 and entitled *The Challenge of Youth*, focused on the philosophy and purpose of youth work, advocating ‘social and physical training’ (Davies, 1999: 20). Both Circulars paved the way for a new relationship between the state and voluntary organisations in the joint provision of youth services, representing the beginning of a shift towards state regulation and a state led provision. Resources and money were allocated to creating a network of local authority youth centres based on the existing ideas and work of independent youth work projects (Davies, 1999). It was thought that ‘universal social education’ could only be achieved through experimental, extra institutional education projects that would reach ‘unattached’ young people who were perceived to be ‘at risk’ in a variety of ways (Fyvel 1961; Morse 1965). Accordingly, a National College was established to offer training programmes that would enable youth leaders to become professionals in the delivery of social education (Crimmens et al., 2004: 10).

In this way, 'state resources had been made available mainly as a result of wartime pressures or the threat of war which had again converted the historic fear of youth into a moral panic' (Davies, 1999: 27). Some twenty years later, the Albemarle Report (1960), regarded as a watershed in the establishment of youth work (Davies, 1999; Davies, 1986; Smith, 1988), reported that the recent crime problem was 'very much a youth problem' (Ministry of Education, 1960: 17) and it was also viewed at the time as being a 'working class phenomenon' (Smith and Doyle, 2002). The recommendations of the report encouraged an increase in state spending (Davies 1986: 99) due to a 'real decline in the range and extent of state resources for youth work during the 1950s' (Davies, 1999: 30).

The social and economic ruptures invoked by the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century created conditions within which an identifiable population of working class children and young people were displaced. This gave rise to a complex of concerns that ultimately drove a sense of intersecting reforms directed towards the governance and regulation of the working class young. As we have seen such reforms produced a discrete juvenile justice system, a child welfare apparatus, statutory educational provision and a universal state sponsored youth service. Although such a schematic overview cannot do justice to the detail of such developments it serves to illustrate the means by which recurring anxieties regarding the behaviour of the working class young produce a series of reactions, responses and reforms. Whilst such initiatives vary in form their underpinning logic invariably derives from the imperative to police young people's access to, and behaviour within, public urban space. For the purposes here 'policing' is taken to apply in a more general sense of governing young people – and particularly working class young people. To accompany the analysis of the emergence, development and consolidation of various responses to the young we now turn to this general concept of 'policing' and return once more to the 1815 inquiry.

The 'policing' of young people in public space

Working class young people's activities in public space such as 'gambling amusements in the public streets' were condemned by the Committee of Inquiry that was established in 1815. Indeed, such activities were deemed to be the 'causes of juvenile delinquency', by impacting negatively upon the 'moral culture of the boys' (Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis 1816: 17). Gambling and the reading of 'penny dreadfuls', comics popular with the young of the period, were regarded as comprising a corrupting influence (Pearson, 1983; Springhall, 1986). Subsequent legislation, such as the Vagrancy Act (1824) and the Malicious Trespass Act (1827), exemplify a further condemnation of working class behaviour. These Acts considerably broadened legal conceptions of 'criminality', to include behaviour that was not previously deemed a criminal offence. The Vagrancy Act of 1824 stated that 'every person playing or betting in any street... or other open and public space' (Magarey 1978: 117) would be deemed to have committed an offence, (a precursor of the anti-social behaviour orders introduced at the end of the twentieth century which are further discussed in Chapter Three).

The criminalisation of traditional street activities, particularly those of working class youths, intensified with the establishment of the Metropolitan Police in 1829, which 'focused attention on the streets and, therefore, on the labouring people who lived, worked and played there' (Rawlings, 1999: 77). Gambling, street corner 'gangs', playing pitch and toss² and other leisure activities were prevalent in working class communities that 'drew upon the collective life of the streets... [and] leisure was therefore largely rooted in neighbourhood life' (Davies, 1992: 170). The streets were the main arena for the leisure and recreation of working class youth (Pearson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1968) as they still are today (Cunningham, 1980). Throughout the nineteenth century, however, behaviour condemned by social reformers resulted in the police trying to 'eliminate traditional street activities such as gambling, loitering

² Betting on the tossing of coins

and dangerous play' (Humphries, 1981: 146) and, by the end of the century leisure activities associated with working class youth culture such as 'larking about' were rigorously policed. The 1908 Children Act drew particular attention to the behaviour of young people leading to a corresponding increase in public concern about delinquency and a number of prosecutions (Humphries, 1981: 122-146). Playing football was also worthy of prosecution as one young male claimed that he 'was done for breach of the peace, foot-balling in the street' (Humphries, 1981: 204). Indeed, this was not a standalone incident; 'out of the 605 children brought before the Birmingham Juvenile Court in 1911 for non-indictable offences, 132 or nearly twenty two per cent were accused of playing football in the street'³ (Springhall, 1986: 187).

The regulation of working class leisure activities caused resentment among the young as they suffered harassment at the hands of the police (Humphries, 1981). A young person 'hanging around' or 'wandering' in the streets was also deemed to constitute suspicious behaviour (Hendrick, 1990: 129; Beavan, 2005; Springhall, 1986; Storch, 1976). Further tensions arose between the police and the young around the criminalisation of public gambling activities. Despite the streets being heavily regulated, Davies (1991: 88) claims that attempts to suppress gambling in the form of the Street Betting Act 1906 were impossible to enforce, and this highlighted the 'weakness of the police as an agency of control' and other technologies of governance were required including organised leisure.

As stated, an adult supervised youth movement emerged at the end of the nineteenth century to counteract the growing popularity and corrupting influences of the music halls, penny theatres, picture palaces and other working class leisure activities which took place unsupervised in the streets (Springhall, 1986: 113; Davies 1999). The new youth movement offered an immediate, convenient, and popular

³ Interestingly, Springhall (1986: 187) claims that prosecuting young people for playing football would be unlikely in the present day 'because there are more open spaces on which to play football than were available over seventy years ago'. Whilst this may be true to some extent, the activities of young people playing the same traditional game in the twenty first century remain heavily regulated and controlled in public space. Not only is there concern over the lack of open spaces being made available to young people (Chapter Six) the numerous prohibition signs that visibly restrict 'play' defy Springhall's optimistic viewpoint.

response to what was universally seen as the problem of 'how to keep adolescents, especially the young ones, off the streets' (Hendrick, 1990: 172). Targeting and trying to eliminate 'the culture of the streets' (Hendrick, 1990: 129) led to a 'nationalisation' of a wide variety of leisure activities provided by churches and voluntary organisations (Springhall, 1977: 15). These organisations sought to impose an adult supervisory role by trying to organise and take control of the leisure of the young working class in particular (Springhall, 1977). The activities provided by these organisations combined religion, recreation, welfare and social education (Hendrick, 1990).

The youth movement, at the start of the twentieth century, emerged at a time of social and economic uncertainty in Britain (Springhall, 1977). The concern for national efficiency coupled with the increasing public and press anxieties about the growth of 'hooliganism' and 'street gangs' among the working class youth (Humphries 1981) drove efforts to instil social conformity, to discipline and regulate young people's behaviour (Springhall, 1977: 16). As noted, the Boys Brigade (Est.1883), Boy Scouts (Est.1909) and the Girl Guides (Est.1910) were examples of some of the uniformed youth organisations that originated in connection with religious and charitable activity (Springhall, 1977; Gillis 1975). The Boys Brigade, founded by William Smith in Glasgow, became the world's first voluntary uniformed youth organisation (Springhall, 1986: 149) and promoted 'true Christian manliness' (Davies, 1999: 9). The Cadet Corps (Est.1880), developed among working class boys, was also a military uniformed group (Hendrick, 1990). Such movements tried to encourage, or instil, conservative and conformist attitudes into the young working class through a 'code of living' founded upon ideologies of nationalism - national security and citizenship - militarism and imperialism (Hendrick, 1990: 165; Springhall 1977: 18). General Baden-Powell, recognised as a hero from the Boer War (Gillis, 1975), wrote a section in his handbook *Scouting for Boys* (1908) entitled 'How the Empire must be held'. Baden-Powell founded the Boy Scouts in 1908 with the stated intention that it; 'appeals with equal force...to the boys of Eton College as much to the boys in an East End slum. It is therefore no exaggeration to hope for valuable results from Scouting in the direction of ultimately solving the class differences' (Baden-Powell, 1929: 24-

25 cited in Davies, 1986: 92). Low take up rates reflected the resistance and unwillingness of working class youths to conform to these new ideas and movements and the opposition they harboured with regard to such interventions (Davies, 1999; Springhall, 1986).

Indeed, young people congregating in public space in groups often labelled 'street gangs' were a prominent feature of working class youth culture at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The apparently organised structure of these gangs, their distinctive style of clothing and behaviour attracted fears amongst the middle classes that they presented a threat to authority and order (Humphries, 1981; Pearson, 1983, Beavan, 2005). However, these congregations of youth were often informal friendship groups evolving a strong identity based upon the neighbourhood or street where they lived (Humphries, 1981; Beavan, 2005). As such, the streets represent a space which has continued, over time, to be a site of tension between working class young people and the governing bodies of the middle classes. Unsupervised young people were constructed as dangerous to the social order (Hendrick, 1990) and considered to be the products of 'unrestrained liberty' (Bray, 1911 cited in Hendrick, 1990: 121). The streets became spaces to be policed, both formally and less formally via the youth service, uniformed movements and developing education and welfare bureaucracies. Early formal policing approaches were seen to instill 'in constables almost a zero tolerance' attitude (Taylor, 1999: 115-116) (highly reminiscent of contemporary policing practice). The condemnation of the 'culture of the streets' as an unruly and undisciplined way of life (Hendrick, 1990) by the middle classes ensured further rigorous regulation of traditional street activities. According to a Westminster Police Court Probation Officer giving evidence to a private inquiry instigated by the National Council of Public Morals in 1917 'Our streets are now more rigidly supervised than ever before' (cited in Springhall, 1986: 179). As is indicated in the name given to this inquiry, constructions of morality continued to feature prominently. The extension of police powers, more rigorous enforcement and the reclassification of particular behaviours further stoked condemnation of the working class young (Emsley, 1996) and paved the way for the 'criminalisation of the poor' (Sharpe, 1999; Muncie, 2009).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the recurring anxieties about working class youth that have been prevalent since the early nineteenth century. The key statements of the Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis 1816 regarding the alleged 'causes' of an 'alarming increase in juvenile delinquency' sound all too familiar in the context of contemporary debates about 'troublesome youth' (Goldson, 2000). The chapter has considered the evolving role of both state intervention and less formal interventions into the lives of working class young people. We have seen how regulating the morality and behaviour of young people was gradually transferred from voluntary effort to state control through a developing penal-welfare complex (Garland, 1985). Changes to employment laws, compulsory education, welfare bureaucracies and the introduction of the youth movement combined to regulate and govern young people's behaviour and shape their lifestyles. Reformers assumed that 'only education would prevent the 'dangerous classes' from continually reproducing their malevolent characteristics' (Hendrick, 1997: 43). They expressed religious and moral concerns about children and young people who they thought needed to be rescued, saved, educated and disciplined (Humphries, 1981). From the beginning of the nineteenth century working class children and young people were perceived both as vulnerable victims in need of care and protection and as precocious threats who required control and correction (Hendrick, 1994). The ambivalences, complexities, contradictions and tensions that formed the governance and regulation of the young working class throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century have endured. In this sense the historical sketch engaged here provides contextual foundations upon which the contemporary regulation of the young working class continues to rest.

Chapter 3: The contemporary governance of youth

Introduction

The previous chapter engaged an historical overview of interventions into young people's lives and the social, economic and political contexts in which they developed. This chapter considers the more contemporary shapes that state intervention and the governance of young people have taken. It details the continuation of the policing and governance of working class young people (Coleman and McCahill, 2011), where their presence and visibility in public space has continued to prompt adult anxieties culminating in intensive spatialised control (Valentine, 2004). However, when contemporary concerns are historicised we are reminded 'that for generations Britain has been plagued by the same fears and problems' (Pearson, 1983: 1). The very act of young people *doing nothing*, as Woods (1985) indicates, implies *doing something*. The streets have, therefore, become places where young people's behaviour is not only the most visible but also the most scrutinised.

The chapter takes a broad view of 'policing' in considering the 'preventative' role of the police and the development of policing into welfare, education and the youth services, providing a further sense of context for the primary research presented in later chapters. It details the influence of crime prevention and multi-agency partnership work introduced in the 1980s and the impact of New Labour policy in the period 1997-2010. Given that fieldwork commenced during the New Labour administration and continued under the Conservative - Liberal Democrat Coalition Government elected in 2010, the policy impact of the change of government is reviewed towards the end of the chapter.

The chapter also examines the increase in regulation, supervision and control of young people not only in the field of criminal youth justice but also within the domain of mainstream youth work. The formal and informal regulation and governance of

working class young people explored in Chapter Two, continues in this Chapter with a detailed discussion on changes to youth justice policy that developed during New Labour (1997-2010). The chapter also engages with the literature on the victimisation of young people and the harms that they experience revealing that they are 'at risk' on a number of different levels: to inordinate degrees of state regulation (formal and informal); to adult victimisation; and to economic insecurity and powerlessness (Muncie, 2003).

The preventative role of the police and youth justice policy

The preventative role of the police initially expanded during the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s through the introduction of Juvenile Liaison Schemes (JLS), the first of which was established by Liverpool City Police in 1949. This experimental scheme was formed in response to the perception, at the time, of an escalation in juvenile offending. In a foreword to a booklet entitled *The Police and the Children*, the Chief Constable stated that:

"One of the primary functions of the police is the prevention as well as the detection of crime and by the very nature of our duties and responsibilities we are ideally situated to learn of potential delinquents at an early stage and take immediate action to prevent them developing criminal tendencies" (Liverpool City Police 1962 cited in Schaffer 1980: 29).

The Chief Constable also claimed that the scheme was intended to be 'filling the gap' between welfare services and the problem of young offenders (Schaffer, 1980: 29). The pilot project in Liverpool was hailed as a success, upon which, in 1952, a Juvenile Liaison Department was established as part of the Crime Prevention Branch of Liverpool City Police (Schaffer, 1980: 29-30). The JLS was an extension of the police caution system. After cautioning, the Juvenile Liaison Officer (JLO) would work, in a supervisory role, with other agencies in an ostensible attempt to prevent the young person from offending again. They would encourage participation in activities and continue the preventative work by working with schools, parents and youth clubs, to curtail 'other forms of behaviour that were assumed to lead to criminal activity' (Bartie and Jackson 2011: 88).

Cautioning young people for minor offences expanded during the 1960s with the aim of trying to keep young people out of the criminal justice system (Smith 2003). The role of the police officer was detailed by *The Report of the Committee on Children and Young Persons* (Home Office 1960), known as the Ingleby Report, which stated that:

“When a young offender is cautioned, a police officer follows up the caution by keeping in touch with him [sic] and enlisting the co-operation of his family, his school, and if need be, the statutory and voluntary social services in preventing him from offending again” (Home Office 1960 para: 139).

The Children and Young Persons Act 1969 gave the police statutory authority for cautioning juvenile offenders as an alternative to being taken to court (Schaffer, 1980). The police worked with other agencies such as social services departments and schools in order to ‘divert’ young people away from the juvenile court (Pratt, 1993). That this diversionary strategy was effective in its intentions is evidenced in the reduction of the number of young people appearing in court by a figure of approximately 6,000 between 1968 and 1973 (Schaffer, 1980: 27). Indeed, the success of the JLS in Liverpool was acknowledged by the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (ACTO 1959) in England and Wales and by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and was recommended to other police forces. By 1969, therefore, following Liverpool’s lead, other police forces in England and Wales developed specific ways of dealing with juvenile offenders, most notably by developing Juvenile Liaison Schemes of their own and also a Juvenile Liaison Bureaux (JLB)⁴. Juvenile Liaison Schemes were regarded as having the potential to improve the relationship between young people and the police as remarked upon at the time:

‘Children today are becoming accustomed to treating the policeman as a friend and as a guide, as a result of the traffic lessons and demonstrations given by the police inside and outside the schools. Juvenile liaison brings the police closer to the parents as well as the children. It personalises authority, gives it a kindlier face, makes the agencies of social control more approachable and less fearsome’ (Mack, 1963: 374).

The JLB were successful in an immediate halving of local prosecution rates for young

⁴ The Juvenile Liaison Bureaux acted as a forum between the police and other agencies in consulting on the diversion of young people from the juvenile court, first established in Wellingborough and Corby in 1981 (Smith 2003: 11).

offenders from 40 per cent to 19 per cent (Thorpe, 1984). The idea of diverting young people away from the criminal justice system progressed into the 1970s and 1980s, where the 1980s was hailed as a period of remarkable success observed by the Children's Society Advisory Committee (1993) which claimed that:

"Home Office statistics suggest that there has been a 37% decline in the number of known juvenile offenders since 1985. This is partly attributable to demographic changes - the juvenile population had fallen by 25%. However, the number of known juvenile offenders per 100,000 of the population has also fallen from 3,130 in 1980 to 2,616 in 1990, a drop of 16%. It remains true that juveniles commit a high proportion of all detected offences but this also appears to be declining. In 1980 juvenile crime represented 32% of all crime; in 1991 that figure had dropped to 20%" (Children's Society, 1993).

The administration of youth justice policy during the period of the 1980s witnessed the increased use of 'diversionary' practices such as cautioning and informal disposals, the emergence of 'alternative' community programmes based on minimum intervention, and witnessed a decline in the use of custody (Smith, 2003: 2).

Diversion, decriminalisation and decarceration

Conservative policy objectives under the newly elected government in 1979 were to cut back on public expenditure and to reduce the burden on the treasury (Davies, 1986). Thatcher's 'free market' resulted in the reduction of 'state interference in everyday life' (Smith, 2003: 9). This also coincided with a group of academics, professionals, and senior civil servants forming a consensus based on developing an alternative to intrusive and excessive state intervention. Alternatives to custody were a persuasive argument in that they were cost effective and cheaper than incarcerating young people (Pratt, 1989). The body of research at the time provided evidence that locking up young people was counterproductive and unsuccessful. Universities and research institutes recommended alternatives to custody and policies of minimum necessary intervention were advocated. This 'fragile consensus' (Goldson, 1997: 4) witnessed a period of the coming together of different sets of influences in a new way of thinking about juvenile justice. Implications of this 'justice'

approach introduced strategic policies to divert young people away from the criminal justice system. The approach consolidated around three fundamental principles: decriminalisation, decarceration and diversion (Goldson, 1997; Rutherford, 1995: 57). Main supporters argued that sentences should be based on the seriousness of the offence not on the needs of the offender, which proposed that cautions by the police should be made for minor offences to divert young people away from the courts.

Within one year of the Conservative government coming into office it published the White Paper *Young Offenders* (1980), which Pitts (2001: 5) regards as signaling Margaret Thatcher's 'fight against crime'. Apparently, reflecting the Conservatives commitment to law and order, the White Paper proposed tough penalties for serious offenders, whilst also remaining committed to diversionary policy for lower-level transgressions. Youth justice policy conveyed conflicting messages of diversion alongside borstals, detention and attendance centres (Pitts, 2001). Indeed, the Criminal Justice Act 1982 that followed proposed 'broadening and strengthening existing non-custodial provisions [to] assist the courts to avoid a custodial sentence except where one is absolutely necessary' (Nacro, 1987: 11). The Department of Health and Social Security launched the Intermediate Treatment initiative (DHSS, 1983) to develop alternatives to custody. The Home Office Circular on Cautioning (Home Office, 1985) also promoted the use of informal disposals to deal with offences to 'avoid the "net-widening" potential of indiscriminate use of formal cautions' (Smith, 2003: 10). The combined effects resulted in a distinction between a small group of 'dangerous offenders' and a majority of less threatening young people which enabled the government to maintain its reputation as tough on crime, while at the same time keeping costs down (Smith, 2003). Whilst criticisms remain about the 'success' of this period (see Pitts, 1988; Hudson, 1987; Haines and Drakeford, 1998) both the use of custody and offending rates were significantly reduced (Goldson, 1997). As Smith (2003) highlights official figures showed a clear reduction in the number of young people being formally processed by the justice system between 1977 and 1991, a 16 per cent decline (Smith, 2003: 17).

Diversiory practice continued and was integrated into schools and youth work programmes, promoting less formal interventions (Smith, 2003). However, the simultaneous extension of informal governance ran alongside the formal governance of the young working classes. In this way, the role of the police within welfare, education and the youth service continued and became legitimised through the preventative activities of the 1970s and 1980s and on diverting young people away from the youth justice system and/or activities that were deemed to lead to crime such as truancy. Police were first described as 'truant officers' in the 1980s (The Guardian, 1980) and, in 1983, at least 40 per cent of local education authorities reported that the police were not only involved in school truancy control, but they were also involved in Duke of Edinburgh schemes and in the running of youth clubs (Davies, 1986: 118). In addition, various community programmes were set up by the police as a means of encouraging better relations with young people (Robins, 1990; Schaffer, 1980). By 1982, the Metropolitan police in London were running a Panda quiz league for 770 primary schools, a disco dancing competition, a cricket league and the largest five-a-side football competition of its kind involving 50,000 young people (Lodge, 1983 cited in Davies, 1986: 118). The police continued to be involved in youth projects in 'a range of area-based initiatives aimed at the alleviation of poverty and disadvantage' throughout the 1980s (Pattie, 2001: 1353) which combined police, local authorities and social services agencies efforts.

Pastoral policing in schools

In addition to the role of the police as it evolved through the establishment of JLBs in the 1950s, 1960s and beyond, through cautioning initiatives in the 1980s onwards and, more recently, through the various 'diversiory' activities that developed through the New Labour period post-1997, the presence of the police in schools, as is discussed by young people in Chapter Seven, is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, the practice of police working with, and in, schools can be traced back to the establishment of the Juvenile Liaison Schemes in the 1960s; the Sussex police were pioneers in police-school liaison, with the first police school liaison officers being appointed in 1966 (Schaffer, 1980: 87). After the disorders in Brixton in 1981 Lord

Scarman advocated that citizenship be placed on the school agenda and that police be involved in the delivery of citizenship education:

'... there are limits to the proper activities of the police in schools - it would be wholly inappropriate for example, for police officers to routinely enter school premises in order to question children of suspected offences. Police assistance in the education of children in the fundamentals of an ordered society can, however be of great value. Indeed as the pressures on our society grow in intensity, the need for programmes of instruction for all children in the way government works, in the law, and in the duties, as well as the rights of citizenship, increases' (Scarman, 1981: 167)

Much police work in schools continued to involve the idea of citizenship (Schaffer 1980) and, in 2002, citizenship was introduced onto the national secondary school curriculum (Potter, 2002). The application of restorative justice practices in schools, whereby the police take a lead role in, conflict resolution, might be read as a further recognition of the government's commitment to promoting citizenship education within which the police play key role (Lamont et al., 2011).

Since the 1990s, there has been a government focus on tackling anti-social behaviour, crime and disorder and within this context, the role of the police within school-based early intervention and prevention have developed further still. In 2002, the Safer School Partnership (SSP) programme was established as part of New Labour's agenda to tackle anti-social behaviour and 'associated problems in and around schools' (YJB 2004: 11). Jointly set up by the then Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the Youth Justice Board (YJB) - following proposals made by the YJB for a new policing model for schools - the SSP represented a 'new intervention based on a partnership between police and schools' (Bhabra et al., 2004:10 cited in Lamont et al 2011). Of the £66 million dedicated to tackling anti-social behaviour, £10 million was spent on 'implementing a police in schools scheme' (YJB 2004: 11).

In 2008, New Labour's *Youth Crime Action Plan* encouraged the establishment of more SSPs, describing them as an important part of neighbourhood policing (Home Office 2008). In 2009, there were over 450 Safer School Partnerships with police officers and community support officers based in selected schools. The SSP

programme has many stated aims (see Department for Children, Schools and Families 2009), however, in summary they aim to:

“SSPs help keep pupils safe, reduce the risk of young people getting drawn into crime or anti-social or extremist behaviour, improve the safety of the school site and surrounding area, build positive relationships between pupils and the police, promote shared values and improve community relations generally within the school and wider community” (Department for Children, Schools and Families 2009: 6).

With the introduction of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA), and in the years following it, a significant number of youth justice policy initiatives have been ‘designed to improve behaviour, increase [school] attendance and reduce youth crime’ (YJB 2004). In particular, the CDA 1998 gave greater powers to the police when dealing with young people who truant from school and the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000 introduced measures to penalise parents if their children failed to attend school regularly. This reflected ‘a significant expansion of state intervention into “family life”’ (Goldson and Jamieson, 2002: 82). Set up by New Labour, the Social Exclusion Unit 1998 also linked truancy to crime and reported that; ‘the thousands of children who are not in school on most schooldays have become a significant cause of crime. Many of today’s non-attenders are in danger of becoming tomorrow’s criminals and unemployed’ (Social Exclusion Unit 1998 cited YJB 2004: 8). The extension of ‘policing’ young people and their parents in this way reflected New Labour’s preoccupation with targeting young people even before they had even committed an offence (Garrett, 2004). The Youth Crime Action Plan (YCAP) published in 2008 (Ministry of Justice 2008), took this another step further by building on the triple-track approach set out in the Youth Taskforce Action Plan (DCSF 2008) which set out to:

“include greater emphasis on early intervention, with tough measures of enforcement and sanctions where problems arise. This is combined with “non-negotiable” support for families” (NSPCC 2009: 3).

Since the election of the Conservative - Liberal Democrat Coalition government in 2010, however, there has been little information regarding the maintenance of the SSP programme and the role of the police within it. The Chair of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), Sir Hugh Orde stated in a recent conference speech that:

“The public sector is facing the most challenging times in living memory, and policing, as one of the most essential yet ‘unprotected’ departments is facing substantial cuts. Which, however defined, will impact on the number of staff we employ” (Orde, 2011 cited in Lamont et al., 2011).

Amidst a climate of public spending cuts the future role of the police in schools is perhaps in doubt alongside the future of the youth service. In September 2014, ‘more than one in three police forces in England [had] cut back on numbers of officers based in schools since 2012’, an investigation by Children and Young People Now revealed (Puffett, 2014a: 1). The remainder of this chapter discusses the implications of this for the progression of partnership working in the field of youth justice policy, which sets the policy context in which the research took place.

Governance through partnership working

Whilst acknowledging the changes to youth justice policy in the 1980s in the form of diversionary practices, the 1980s also witnessed a change in the governance framework of crime control from state-centred to a network governance structure involving ‘non-state actors’ on a large scale (Crawford, 2002: 2-3). These non-state actors included a range of bodies and agencies in the voluntary, business and private sectors that were encouraged to work together with the police and local authorities in partnerships to control crime amounting to what Crawford (2002: 4) regards as ‘a new corporate approach of self-policing society’.

The notion of partnership working was first introduced in the Home Office Circular 8/1984 (Home Office 1984) which stated the potential benefits of inter-agency working. It claimed that crime prevention should entail a co-ordinated approach of local and national policies and that the responsibility for crime prevention should not lie solely with the police. By the late 1980s, government initiatives such as the Five Towns Initiative and the Safer Cities Programme implemented these recommendations (Crawford, 1997: 39). The Morgan Report (1991) - *Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention Through the Partnership Approach* - reviewed previous initiatives and recommended that a statutory responsibility should be placed on all local authorities and the police to implement

crime prevention and community safety programmes (Newburn, 2002: 105-106). The report proposed 'that crime reduction was a peripheral issue for major agencies and a core activity of none of them' (Home Office 1991: 3). Six major points were recommended for the implementation of multi-agency partnerships in the reduction of crime; structure, leadership, information, identity, durability and resources (Home Office 1991). The recommendations were not all taken up by the, then reluctant, Conservative government, but when New Labour came to power in 1997 they took account of the recommendations which were later incorporated into the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. The Act placed a statutory duty on the police and local authorities to establish Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships⁵ highlighting a 'new institutional architecture' of prevention and safety (Hughes 2007). Section 5 of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act defined CRDPs as:

"An alliance of organisations which generate strategies and policies, implement actions and interventions concerning crime and disorder within their partnership area" (Home Office 1998).

In England and Wales 376 'partnerships' were created to address the government's 'agenda of targeted, evidence-based and measurable crime and disorder reduction, linked to specific negotiated local priorities' (Edwards and Hughes, 2009: 69). The partnerships were governed by national targets and, as such, had to incorporate within their objectives priorities set by government in the Public Service Agreement. The CRDPs and CSPs were also legally required to produce an audit every three years to determine the priorities for the Community Safety Partnership Plan. Since 2008 it has been mandatory for all partnerships to produce and publish an annual Strategic Assessment.

With the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, therefore, crime control and the maintenance of social order, were undertaken by preventive networks incorporating public and private sectors. These networks were

⁵ Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships in England are now referred to as Community Safety Partnerships, resulting from statutory changes under the Policing and Crime Act 2009, which came into effect on 1 April 2010. In Wales they have remained titled Community Safety Partnerships since their inception in 1998.

optimistically intended to be able to deal with and 'intervene proactively in society's whole range of social ills' in a positivist scientific manner (Hughes, 2007: 40). However, in reality the legislation resulted in the blurring of the lines between 'community safety' and 'crime reduction', where social problems became transformed into crime and disorder issues. Similarly, Crawford (1995: 119) contends that 'public issues may become marginalised except insofar as they are defined in terms of their crimogenic qualities' and, in a further publication, he highlights the means by which appeals to community through partnerships have shifted and muddled the traditional boundaries between the state, public and private organisations (Crawford, 1998). This has included the highly prescriptive and directorial power that government holds over local agendas (Hughes 2007), which conflicts with the need - stressed by a number of academics - for localised responses to problems in a particular community on account of the fact that universal strategies for all localities do not work (Walklate, 2002; Karn, 2007; Foster, 2002).

Partnership working and youth work

Whilst the police continued to be involved in preventative practices in the first decade of the new millennium with young people, Kickz established in 2006 was an example of a partnership between the Metropolitan Police and the Premier League, using football as a means to engage with young people and bring communities together (Kickz 2011), the nature of 'diversion' administered under New Labour was fundamentally different in practice and in tone. Diversion during the New Labour period (post 1997) adopted a 'multi-agency' approach and highly interventionist strategies to prevent and deter young people from offending, involving participants subject to earlier and more intensive surveillance (Garrett, 2004). Youth Inclusion Programmes (YIPs) were established to:

"Prevent youth crime in the neighbourhood in which it is based, by preventing and reducing the involvement in offending or anti-social behaviour of a targeted core group of 50 children and young people aged 13 to 16 years. It seeks to achieve this by providing a range of activities designed to reduce those factors most associated with youth crime ... [and those young people who are] most at risk of exclusion from education, most at risk of involvement

in offending and/or anti-social behaviour, [and] behaving in ways that require a multi-agency response' (YJB 2005: 3-6).

Referral to a YIP was, therefore, made by a number of different agencies, including the Youth Offending Team, the police, local education authorities or schools, and pupil referral units. This multi-agency response provided a young person with a key-worker who arranged activities for them in order to 'divert' them from offending (YJB 2005: 6). The role of the police in this context was, therefore, referral based instead of previous examples of police-led activities. Other 'diversionary' initiatives created by the Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) and funded by the Youth Justice Board (YJB) - Summer Splash, Splash Extra and Splash Cymru - were designed to offer young people in 'deprived areas' alternatives to youth crime by getting them involved in positive recreational activities during the school holidays. Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP), created in 2003, brought together the various funding streams for diversionary activities into one single programme (Kelly 2008: 74).

Crime reduction strategies, such as the *Five Towns Initiative* (1986) and the *Safer Cities Programme* (1988), also involved implementing 'inter-agency co-operation' (Marlow and Pitts 1998) with specialist youth projects (Blagg et al., 1988). *The Morgan Report* (1991) emphasised the need for the development of measures to reduce youth offending, the outcome of which was the extension of street-based youth work (Crimmens et al., 2004 :8). In this way, detached and outreach youth work might be seen as key elements in the delivery of youth justice policy initiatives (Crimmens et al., 2004: 13-14). Paradoxically, however, by the late 1990s, the youth service was suffering from two decades of cutbacks (Jeffs, 2011: 5).

Youth service workers began to be placed into new government programmes such as Area Regeneration Programmes, Community Safety and Youth Justice Initiatives (Crimmens et al., 2004: 11) to tackle issues such as Youth Crime Prevention, Drugs, HIV, Youth Homelessness, Truancy and School Exclusion and Sexual Health (see Crimmens et al., 2004: 9; Coles, 2000; Mizen, 2003). The adoption of youth work by voluntary sector and commercial providers (Coles, 2000; Pitts, 2003) led, in turn, to workers from health, welfare, urban regeneration, and criminal justice agencies making use of these approaches, which differed from the traditional user-led

educational approach that had previously developed within mainstream youth work (Jeffs and Smith, 2002).

The implementation of a new variant of 'youth work' within these domains escalated throughout the 1990s and especially after 1997 when New Labour came into office (Davies, 2005b). A plethora of youth policy documents were published, particularly under New Labour, with 400 different strategies, funding streams, legislative acts and structural changes to the services affecting children and young people (see Action for Children 2008). Following the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, the Home Office and the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales established 376 statutory Community Safety Partnerships, 155 multi-agency Youth Offending Teams (YOTs), 70 Youth Inclusion Programmes (YIPs) and 50 Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programmes (ISSPs) (Crimmens et al., 2004: 30). In 1997, New Labour's attempt at producing a coherent youth policy involved the appointment of a Minister for Youth, a Cabinet Committee for Young People and, in 2001, an Inter-Departmental Children and Young Persons Unit (Crimmens et al., 2004: 10).

Controlling the 'at risk'

Findings from Crimmens et al., (2004: 69) revealed that the use of a new form of street-based youth work in England and Wales had increased five-fold since the 1970s. From the late 1990s, the realisation that youth work could potentially reach 'unreached and unreachable parts of the adolescent population' dominated youth policy (Davies, 2005b). However, these interventions - implemented under the guise of youth crime prevention within the remit of community safety strategies, (Crawford, 1998; Hughes, 2007) - have not been without their critics.

The initiatives under the New Labour period, which targeted young people 'at risk', have been criticised on the basis of their potential to act as forces of criminalisation rather than remediation (Blagg et al., 1998: 208). Davies (2005:3) argued that the principles of youth work were being undermined by government centralised, time-limited agendas, which focus on outcomes instead of concentrating on what youth work should be about: '...value-based, explicit about its duty of care for individuals;

committed to their greater self-realisation; concerned to help maximise their potential contribution to the greater good' (Davies, 2005b: 4). This rise of target-led, outcome-driven intervention based upon time-limited funding represents a shift witnessed from universal, area based work towards a more tightly targeted, problem orientated, issues based approach that is focused on groups of young people labelled as 'excluded', 'at risk', 'in need' and 'difficult' (Crimmens et al., 2004: 47-48). Reluctance to evaluate youth work in terms of specific crime reduction targets highlights the deep tensions between the target-led goals of a project and the user-led ethos of detached and outreach youth work (France and Wiles, 1996).

This view is supported by the 2004 National Study of street-based youth work which identified 'a mismatch between the specificity of many of the funding streams supporting street-based work and the complex realities of the field in which it is undertaken' (Crimmens et al., 2004: 73). It concluded that the Department for Education and Skills '*Transforming Youth Work*' (DfES 2002) policy initiatives were 'moving street-based youth work in the direction of an even more tightly focused approach, in advocating locally agreed targets for those categorised as "NEET"⁶ and other "problematic" groups of young people, and suggested 'the need for greater recognition amongst policy makers, funders and agency partners of the essentially generic, "joined-up", nature of street-based youth work and the diverse timescales required for effective practice' (Crimmens et al., 2004: 73-74). The construction of 'NEET' young people as 'problematic' is evidence of the criminalising tendencies of social policy. Rodger (2008: 49) suggests that the 'main drivers of policy aimed at NEETs are concerns about the cost to the taxpayer of maintaining unproductive people on benefits and concerns about their potential anti-social behaviour'. In which concerns about 'unsupervised youth' are reminiscent of the early nineteenth century.

Connexions, established in 2000 by New Labour, was an example of a service which was designed to provide 'advice, guidance, support and personal development opportunities for all 13-19 year olds' (DfEE, 2000). However, key elements of the

⁶ Defined as not in education, employment or training (NEET)

service provision relied heavily on youth workers (Davies, 2005a), who were then obliged to share information about young people – in particular those defined as not in education, employment or training (NEETs) – with a range of other agencies. This caused concern among youth workers regarding the ‘gradual criminalisation of the field’ (Crimmens et al., 2004: 31). These anxieties were further compounded by the publication of *Transforming Youth Work* 2002 which claimed that the youth service should play a central role in the Connexions programme, contributing to ‘cross-cutting preventive strategies including identification, referral, and tracking’ (cited Crimmens et al., 2004: 31). The emphasis on surveillance and control stood against the key characteristics of youth work characterised by the Albemarle Report, which focused on the behaviours of the young working class. Notably, there was a move from voluntary participation to more coercive forms of case management (Smith and Doyle, 2002). The targeting of young people labelled ‘unreachable’ and/or ‘socially excluded’ through partnerships at the local level, and the encouragement of information sharing between relevant agencies, was regarded as a period leading to a ‘culture of identifying and classifying groups of young people based on levels of dangerousness’ (Feeley and Simon, 1994: 173). Indeed, amidst the development of partnership working and a ‘multi-agency’ approach to young people, the field of youth justice took a dramatic ‘punitive’ turn in the 1990s, providing a further contextual background to responses to ‘problematic youth’.

The changing face of youth justice

By the beginning of the 1990s ‘a reactionary U turn was launched which rapidly dismantled the successful practice orientation of the previous decade and set a harsh new tone in relation to state responses to children in trouble’ (Goldson, 1997: 79). Social constructions of the young offender resulted in high profile media coverage, which set the conditions for a moral panic:

“Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined

as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible” (Cohen, 1972; 2002: 1).

John Major, the Prime Minister of the Conservative government at the time, claimed that ‘society needs to condemn a little more and understand a little less’ (Goldson, 1997: 77), reflecting an escalating punitive turn with regards to young people. The 1993 murder of two year old James Bulger by two ten year old boys in Merseyside further heightened the ‘moral panic’ about young people and had significant implications with regard to political responses to youth crime. The Bulger case came to ‘symbolize something much broader; it became a signifier for a generalised ‘crisis’ in childhood and a breakdown of moral and social order’ (James and Jenks, 1996 cited in Muncie, 2004: 5). This single event had a profound and lasting impact of legislation and on public opinion regarding children and young people. The media portrayal of the perpetrators as ‘evil monsters’ suggested that children should be regarded as a threat (Muncie, 2004: 3). While this was not the first time that a child had been responsible for the death of another child, the media coverage was particularly negative and widespread, both nationally and internationally (Jewkes, 2004) and it ultimately unleashed a further spate of recurring anxieties. Progress made during the 1980s within the juvenile justice system had been effectively lost (Smith, 2003).

By the time that the New Labour government was elected, in 1997 with a landslide victory, key elements of youth justice policy were already in place (Smith, 2003). In their campaign, New Labour had ‘mounted a full-scale attack on the Tory law and order record’, claiming that crime was out of control (Pitts, 2001: 12) and, in doing so, digressed from a traditional Labour position. Influenced by developments in the USA and the apparent political success of ‘three strikes and you’re out’, a rhetoric of toughness played out representing a new turn in punitive policy making (Pitts, 2003: 12). New Labour announced that it was time to ‘be tough on crime’ and that ‘no more excuses’ could be tolerated (Home Office, 1997). The implementation of the CDA signified a wider ideological shift in the regulation of youth from the ‘minimum

intervention' approach that predominated in the 1980s to a preventative 'early intervention' approach that developed in the post-1997 period (see Crawford, 2009; Squires, 2008). The implications of the New Labour policy are detailed to set the context within which the research took place and to highlight the prominent policy issues during that time.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Section 37, stated that the statutory aim of the youth justice system was 'preventing offending by children and young people' and resulted in various early intervention and prevention initiatives being funded by the Youth Justice Board (Home Office, 1998). The Act effectively reconfigured and reshaped the youth justice system. It radically reformed and extended the reach of intervention and sentencing by introducing a range of new powers available to the police and courts; Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (Section 1), Parenting Orders (Section 8), Local Child Curfew schemes (Section 14), Reprimands and Warnings (Section 69), Detention and Training Order (Section 73) (Bell 1999).

In this climate of increasing state intervention 'the politics of behaviour [was] central' (Field, 2003 cited in Waiton, 2010: 38). The concept of 'anti-social behaviour' did not appear in public discourse until the early 1990s and its prominence in policy increased dramatically with the election of New Labour (Waiton, 2008:14). Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), introduced by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and first implemented in April 1999, were to be used by the police and local authorities against people aged over 10 who had acted in an 'anti-social manner' (Home Office, 2003). Such people ranged from 'noisy neighbours who ruin the lives of those around them, "crack houses" run by drug dealers, drunken "yobs" taking over town centres...' (Home Office, 2003: 6). Rodger (2008: 17) claims that the implementation of ASBOs reflected New Labour's populist agenda of being 'tough on crime and those labelled anti-social' as a sure way to win political gains. Although 'anti-social behaviour' is a contested term, its capacious definition and broad application, (Crawford, 2009) led to a situation where, by the end of 2005, over 40 per cent of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) had been issued to persons aged under eighteen (Squires, 2008: 9).

A dominant theme that ran throughout New Labour's legislative responses to young people was to blame parents (Goldson and Jamieson, 2002). This was reflected in the first White Paper. Section 4.6 stated that 'parents of young offenders may not directly be to blame for the crimes of their children, but parents have to be responsible for providing their children with proper care and control'. Some years later, in 2003, David Blunkett reiterated this stance in the foreword to a further White Paper, claiming that 'responsibility starts in the family, where parents are accountable for the actions of their children and set the standards they are to live by' (Home Office, 2003: 1). Government fixation with 'problem' populations, particularly families, was evident in the language of social inclusion and social exclusion depicting the failures of disadvantaged people as 'poor self-management' during New Labour (Rodger, 2008:59). Within this policy context, citizens were required to bear the burden of responsibility for the personal safety of individuals, which Garland (2001) termed the era of 'responsibilisation'. Making young people and parents responsible based on notions of future risk (Burney, 2005).

In particular, the concern with, and governing of, 'troublesome' youth (Crawford, 2008) has been the focus of much anti-social behaviour policy (Banister and Kearns, 2013; Neary et al., 2013; Millie, 2008) which has, in turn, had a significant impact upon the everyday lives of young people. Youthful behaviour such as 'simply hanging around [was] sufficient to feature as a category of ASB in the British Crime Survey' (Hulley, 2014: 24). Young people, therefore, using public spaces continue to be problematised (Kraack and Kenway, 2002; Valentine, 1997a) and, whilst some research has focused on the territorial rivalry between groups of young people, (Goldson, 2011; Leiberger, 1995; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Woolley, 1999), the greatest territorial war over public space appears to have been driven by adults including policy makers (Hendry et al., 2002). Throughout history, as we have seen, and from the mid-1990s in the contemporary period, governmental policies and strategies have led to the exclusion of young people from public space through the criminalisation of certain activities and the policing of their movement. The expanded 'role of the state in maintaining a particular kind of spatial order' (White, 1996: 37) and the increasing private ownership of 'public' space have impacted upon youth in

particular - hanging around and socialising in the street – is increasingly regarded as ‘problematic’ and ‘anti-social’ (MacKenzie et al., 2010; Burney, 2005; Squires, 2008; Crawford and Lister, 2007; Waiton, 2008). Indeed, public spaces have become more regulated and surveilled than ever before (Wilson et al., 2010; Valentine, 1997a; White, 1996) leading to, what Chatterton and Hollands (2003: 70) have described as, ‘a general sanitisation of activity’.

‘Threatening youth’ in public space

‘Moral panics’ continue to recur regarding young people’s ‘disruptive’ use of public space in parks, on housing estates, playing fields and street corners (see Jeffs and Smith, 1996; Loader, 1996; Watts and Stenson, 1998; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). Increasingly the corporate branding of public space for the ‘leisured classes’ means that ‘skaters, goths, Big Issue vendors, beggars and buskers are regarded as unsightly and unwanted’ (Coleman, 2005: 139). In particular, young people are not granted the same rights to occupy public space (Coleman, 2005). In commercialised spaces the growth of private policing and surveillance has increased (see Coleman and Sim, 2000; Coleman, 2005) – where the visibility of young people and ‘behaviours associated with non-consumption have been singled out’ (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 85). In particular the importance of the localities image is paramount in promoting places as ‘desirable’ (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 85). Not only has the policing of working class young people intensified in such spaces, the classification and identification of all youth in certain locations deemed not socially acceptable has intensified. Indeed, as Banister and Kearns (2013: 387) argue, their presence is considered to be problematic to the extent that: ‘young people occupying public space is taken as a visual indicator of the incapacity of the community to address disorder’.

At the level of community and neighbourhood, policies to exclude forms of youthful behaviour from public space tend to dominate ‘rather than any attempt to address the drivers or perceptions that lead us to suggest that this approach may have provoked a cycle of intolerance’ (Bannister and Kearns, 2013:391). In this way

‘neighbourhood decline’ and ‘social disconnectedness’ are themes widely applied to locales in England and Wales suffering from high levels of anti-social behaviour (ASB) (Egan et al 2013; Bannister and Kearns, 2013) and associated with greater levels of deprivation (see Flatley et al., 2008 and Ames et al., 2007). Within this context the presence of young people and their perceived association with ASB are often deemed to be indicators of ‘community fragmentation’ (Sampson, 2009; Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004) and ‘a metaphor for wider social concerns of social breakdown’ (Millie, 2010: 10; MacKenzie et al., 2010).

The analysis requires greater levels of sophisticated and nuancing, however. For example, Bannister and Kearns (2013) argue that a ‘communities’ level of tolerance is based on ‘familiarity’ and the ‘social connectedness of the locale’. Equally, Hancock and Matthews (2001: 106) suggest that the organisation and density of housing, the seriousness of other local problems, and the range and quality of amenities are important determinants of the level of public tolerance. As such, it is the pre-existing social and urban context that is instrumental in determining perceptions of young people’s behaviour. In some contexts conditions are said to feed ‘negative stereotypes of youth and positioned young people as a metaphor for deeper social malaise’ (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 380). In other contexts greater tolerance and understanding prevails, as the data chapters reveal in the coastal resort of Rockford. Ultimately the way in which human beings ‘interpret behaviour’ (Erikson, 1962: 308) becomes significant to how it is responded to in specific localities (Hulley, 2014).

In this way, the social construction of risk and the corresponding emotion of anxiety and fear (Goffman, 1971) can lead particular groups to be negatively labelled (Becker, 1963). A primary illustration is the way in which the label of ASB has been disproportionately applied to marginalised and minority groups (Millie, 2006). This has particular implications for young people with regard to constructions of ‘risk’. As Thompson (1998: 43) argues, ‘no age group is more associated with risk in the public imagination than that of “youth”’ (Thompson, 1998: 43). Not only are young people represented as a social group ‘at risk’ from the threats posed by child abusers and paedophiles (Citcher, 2002; Hay, 1995; Jenkins, 1992), but they are also identified as a source of risk, both by adults and by other young people (Cohen, 1972; Hay, 1995;

Neary et al., 2013). Youth are, therefore, seen as a problem for which increasing measures of control must be applied (Valentine, 1996; Lee, 2001; Squires and Stephen, 2004). The re-problematising of 'anti-social behaviour' as 'crime' can further compound exclusion and intolerance (Squires and Stephen, 2005), and doing so within a punitive paradigm (Hancock and Matthews, 2001; Tonry and Bildsten, 2009) might provoke communities to display increasing intolerance towards youthful behaviour. Indeed, such 'intolerance' has been institutionalised' (Muncie 1999b: 171).

The *Anti-Social Behaviour Act* (2003) granted new powers to the police to remove under 16 year olds from public places. Part 4 of the Act (Section 30-36) gave 'the police in England and Wales new powers to disperse groups of two or more people from areas where there is believed to be persistent ASB and a problem with groups causing intimidation' (Crawford and Lister, 2007:5). Dispersal Orders in this context reinforce negative perceptions of youthful behaviour in public spaces which, as Crawford and Lister (2007: xi) suggest, can have criminalising consequences:

'In relying on the perceptions of others as a trigger for intervention, dispersal orders potentially criminalise youthful behaviour dependent on the anxieties that young people congregating in groups may generate. The power is potentially less concerned with the agency of the individuals who are the subjects of regulation than the assumptions that are made about what they might do' (Crawford and Lister 2007: xi).

The criminalisation of young people's behaviour – even their very presence - in public space is highly contested (Crawford and Lister, 2007; Crawford, 2009; Jamieson, 2005; Stephen 2009; Smith, 2006) and has raised a host of concerns with regard to due process, the discretion accorded to the police and the infringements upon an individual's rights (Jamieson, 2005). No other identifiable group in society would be subjected to this kind of discriminatory legislation (Stephen, 2010).

Consequently, attention has tended to focus on concerns *about* young people rather than concerns *for* them (Squires and Stephen, 2005). In this way, the dominant political discourse tends to construct young people as actual or potential offenders and very little attention is paid to children's own anxieties, fears, victimisation and need for protection (Deakin, 2006; Goodey, 2005; Muncie, 2003). However, young

people are, in fact, particularly vulnerable to victimisation. This paradoxical situation, in which young people are both feared and, at the same time, vulnerable, (Goldson, 2002), is key to conceptualising and understanding young people's experiences and perceptions of policing, crime, safety and security.

Young people's securities and insecurities

Despite young people being at greatest risk of violent crime and victimisation (Stephen, 2010), their fears and victimisation are rarely mentioned, or addressed, in crime prevention policy, particularly with regard to lower level victimisation such as harassment (Deakin, 2006). Instead, young people are subjected to extraordinary levels of intervention, surveillance and exclusion (Davis, 1990; White, 1994; Ray, 1994; White et al., 1996) at precisely the same time that a specific youth victimology is virtually non-existent in political discourse (Muncie, 2003).

Indeed, it was not until the early 1990s that it came to be recognised that children and young people figured disproportionately as victims of crime (Morgan and Zedner, 1992). Initially as a one off exercise, the 1992 British Crime Survey (BCS) included 12 to 15 year olds in their sample (see Aye Maung, 1995). The findings showed that, of children aged 12 to 15 in England and Wales, an estimated 60 percent had been a victim of a selected range of offences over the previous 12 months (Aye Maung, 1995). In January 2009, the British Crime Survey extended the survey to include the views of young people aged 10 to 15 years. In addition to questions about their experience of crime, the survey also gathered information on a number of crime-related topics, such as perceptions and attitudes of the police, anti-social behaviour, crime prevention and personal security (see Millard and Flatley, 2010). The survey found that boys had a higher risk of being victims than girls, particularly of violence and theft from the person; boys aged 13 to 15 had the highest risk of being a victim of theft from the person; children living in rented social housing had a higher risk of being victims of violence than those resident in owned accommodation; and children with an illness, or disability, had a higher risk of being a victim of violence, and of personal crime (Millard and Flatley, 2010). The BCS also asked whether young people

reported incidents to the police (Millard and Flatley, 2010) and their levels of reporting were found to be significantly lower compared to adults.

Young people are not a homogenous group of course and the various forms of social control and harm that they are exposed to, and how they are experienced, differ according to class, ethnicity and gender (Hillyard and Tombs, 2004). Furthermore, the location in which young people live is an important factor contributing to the potential risk of control and/or victimisation (Garofalo, 1988). Children and young people living in deprived areas are normally deemed to be the most vulnerable (Deakin, 2006). The Children and Young People's Safety Survey (CYPSS) conducted in 2000 revealed that the street was the most likely location for every type of victimisation reported (criminal and non-criminal) and schools were found to be the second most common (Deakin, 2006).

Similarly, the 2008 MORI Youth Survey (Phillips et al., 2009), found that 51 per cent of young people aged 11 to 16 had been the victim of crime and bullying incidents in the 12 months prior to interview. These findings replicate the results of previous research (see Whitney and Smith, 1993; Balding, 1996; Olweus, 1993) and subsequent studies in showing that children are generally at higher risk of victimisation than adults (see Flatley et al., 2009 for evidence on risk of having a mobile phone stolen; and Roe and Ashe, 2008, for differential risk of being a victim of personal crime). Interestingly, however, young people overestimate the risk of crime and base their fear on the *perceived* rather than *actual* risk (Skogan, 2006) as Chapter Eight illustrates. The most common fears expressed by children in the CYPSS and the BCS were of 'being followed' or 'attacked by a stranger', which reflects a socially dominant narrative regarding the danger of strangers (Deakin, 2006; Kidscape, 1993). Warnings given at school, by parents and dangers portrayed in the media are all influential and persuasive (Madriz, 1999; Valentine, 1997). Therefore, a 'paradox exists between the fears that children have about attacks from strangers and the likelihood of them experiencing such situations' (Deakin, 2006: 384).

Youth justice and the Coalition Government

Since the election of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government in 2010, policies on youth justice have been in many ways more progressive than those of the previous three New Labour administrations. Youth justice statistics for the period 2012/13 reported that since 2009/10, there have been: '55 per cent fewer young people coming into the Youth Justice System and 36 per cent fewer young people (under 18) in custody' (see Ministry of Justice et al., 2014: 6). The reported decrease in young people being processed formally by the justice system, signals a change of policy and practice direction (see Smith, 2014: 112). Whether intentional, or planned, developments of 'diversionary' practices are reminiscent of the outcomes in youth justice during the 1980s (Smith, 2014: 111).

New diversionary initiatives, such as the Youth Restorative Disposal (YRD) initially implemented by New Labour have continued under the Coalition government. Moreover, the Coalition government's policy document *Breaking the Cycle: Effective Punishment, Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Offenders* proposed to 'promote diversionary restorative justice approaches for adult and young people committing low level offences' and to 'return discretion to police officers and encourage offenders to make swift reparation to victims and the wider community' (Ministry of Justice 2010:61). Furthermore, the Coalition Government's *Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill* (2011) replaced the Reprimand and Final Warnings system by reintroducing cautions and extending the conditional caution, therefore promoting more police discretion, more local authority discretion and also empowered courts to issue a non-criminal disposal for the first offence, resulting in more court discretion.

Hart (2012: 4) acknowledges 'the new framework for out-of court disposals is a real opportunity to reduce the unnecessary criminalisation of children. The key challenge for practitioners at local level will be to establish effective processes for decision-making'. However, as Smith (2014) cautiously advises we have been here before 'and the hard won gains of the 1980s were lost very quickly with the onset of the "punitive turn" in the early 1990s'. (Smith, 2014: 118). If, as Yates (2012) argues, the 'deliberate

and intentional process at play in the withdrawal of the state from areas of human life with which it is no longer concerned' become legitimised through arguments of localism, and delegation of responsibility for welfare intervention to local authorities, this could have serious consequences. Consequently, the future remains uncertain amidst a climate of high youth unemployment rates, severe cuts to public services and local authority budgets and in particular, cuts to education and youth service provision.

The future of the youth service?

The Youth Service appears to have been particularly negatively affected by conditions of austerity and severe cuts in public services. The Coalition government imposed massive cuts to local authority youth services which began in 2010 and the idea of youth services as a 'universal' offer seems to have been abandoned. Indeed, cuts to youth services since 2010 have amounted to a £438 million reduction in spending (Barton and Edgington, 2014: 1). A Freedom of Information request carried out by Unison also found that local authorities have merged or closed 292 children's centres over the past four years after reducing their spend on the service by £82 million (McCardle, 2014: 1). As the BBC reported in 2014 'the amount of money spent on services for teenagers in England has fallen by 36 per cent in the past two years' (Barton and Edgington, 2014: 1). Within this context some spatial differentiation is evident:

"There is no pattern to the cuts in youth services; where one council has stopped its youth service, another may have taken the brave decision to keep it intact. Call it localism or a postcode lottery. But the truth is that for many young people the extent of their opportunity is down to where they live... We have little doubt that lack of investment now will have significant consequences in the future" (Blacke 2014: 1).

The impact of such cuts had implications during the fieldwork. The youth organisation in Sandton suffered cuts from the youth service budget in 2011, and the youth organisation in Rockford closed in December 2011.

Conclusion

This chapter – building upon and extending the analysis in Chapter Two – reminds us that the anxieties surrounding young people, ‘troublesome youth’ and ‘problematic youthful behaviour’ are perennial features of post-industrial society that are not intrinsic to children and young people themselves. Indeed, Davies (1999: 14) contends that during periods of heightened uncertainty, young people become the ‘societal litmus test’ for wider public fears concerning social (in) stability. Society periodically becomes subject to moral panics about young people and calls are made for tough measures to be taken, with a resultant clamp down in a symbolic and actual crusade against disorder (Cohen, 1972). In this respect, contemporary concerns are not new, but are affective and reminiscent of the past.

The preventative activities of the police in the 1970s and 1980s legitimised new forms of police involvement: in schools, the youth service and educational welfare witnessing the development and extension of informal governance of young people. Alongside the devolution of powers to local authorities (statutory, private and voluntary agencies) we have also witnessed the individualisation and ‘responsibilisation’ (Garland, 2001) of crime prevention. The chapter has therefore detailed that the policing and surveillance of young people has continued since the nineteenth century, which now includes the use of new technologies such as CCTV and other forms of ‘policing’ (see Norris and Armstrong, 1999; and Goold, 2004) that ‘continue to fall disproportionately on young, working class males’ (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 83).

The dominant political discourse of previous decades has constructed young people as, if not actual, then at least possible offenders, rather than protecting their primary status as a child or young person who may also require protection (Muncie, 2003). Contemporary youth justice has been increasingly repressive, no longer only concerned with young offenders, but also with young people who offend moral sensibilities. The targeting of children and young people through punitive measures,

such as removing them from public space, discriminates against them and reflects a general societal intolerance.

As the chapter has highlighted young people, particularly those deemed to be at 'risk' by youth justice and social policy tend to be the young working class. They have been subject to earlier and more intensive forms of surveillance and intervention through New Labour initiatives; heavily regulated and controlled in public spaces; and excluded in public space through the extension of greater police powers namely, the Dispersal Order. In this context, we have witnessed the 'continuing interrelationship between policing and surveillance and the control of working class activity and space' (Coleman, 2009). Legislation aimed at 'NEETS' is evidence of the management of this population through formal governance and regulation.

As we have seen anti-social behaviour was expanded as a concept to incorporate a whole range of issues and troubles; the policing of ASB was backed up by 'laws, initiatives, council strategies, government speeches, public service advertisements, departmental briefs, police targets and so on' (Waiton, 2010: 42). It became embedded in local and national policy agendas through the implementation of Community Safety Partnerships since 1998, which have seen social problems increasingly, addressed within a legal framework. Against this backdrop, changes in youth justice policy since 2008 have witnessed: the reduction in the use of custody, the re-emergence of 'rehabilitation', arguments for minimum intervention, principles of localism and community-based problem resolution (see Smith, 2014: 110). However time will tell if this will continue or, as Yates (2012) suggests, whether a 'government whose agenda is dictated by cost cutting and retrenchment', will oversee, the abandonment of entire sections of the population, for whom the misdemeanours of the young are just one element of a catalogue of disadvantage and neglect' (cited in Smith, 2014: 119).

Chapter 4: Research design and methods

Introduction

This chapter sets out the research design employed and reflects upon the qualitative, ethnographic methods that underpinned the research. The core research question and the primary objectives that informed the study are presented below. The chapter then examines a number of important considerations when conducting youth research. A detailed account of the selection of research participants and the principal methods employed to explore young people's experiences and perceptions of crime, policing, safety and security are considered alongside the practical and ethical issues that arose during the research. Finally, the chapter concludes by discussing the analysis of the data - informed by grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) – and outlining the reflexive approach that was adopted throughout the research process, from design, through to implementation, conclusion and analysis.

Overview

The overall objective of the research was to contribute a contextualised understanding of the ways in which young people conceptualise crime, policing, safety and security in their own localities. An ethnographic study was conducted in two coastal resorts, one in England and one in Wales, and access to young people was facilitated through centre-based youth organisations and outreach work⁷ in the communities. The research participants were aged between 10 and 17 years and the fieldwork extended over periods of six months in each locality (twelve months in total). Qualitative data were generated with young people in the youth organisations through a range of methods including: participant observation; 23 semi-structured

⁷ Outreach work carried out by youth workers attempting to attract young people into a particular service or activity by delivering information to young people in public, originates from the work of philanthropic organisations of the nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter Two (Kaufman, 2001; Crippens et al., 2004: 13-14).

interviews; various group work exercises involving flip charts with 15 young people; photographic methods with 9 young people; group discussions with 23 young people and other visual techniques with 12 young people, detailed later in the chapter. Additional qualitative data was also generated through unstructured interviews with 77 young people 'on the street' and through semi-structured interviews with 12 professionals in the field.

The core research question and the primary objectives

Core research question

How do young people experience and perceive crime, policing, safety and security in two coastal resorts, one in England and one in Wales?

Primary objectives:

- To examine the ways in which questions of youth crime, policing, safety and security and related issues are expressed and represented in official discourses.
- To critically analyse the congruence of official representations of such phenomena with the actual experiences and perceptions of young people within, and between, two coastal resorts - one in England and the other in Wales.
- To consider the main issues of concern for young people within, and outside of crime and disorder reduction, crime prevention and community safety discourses.
- To observe how young people interact and engage with each other in their community and youth organisation.

The research design was modelled around the following methods of data collection:

1. Secondary documentary analyses of official policy documents and Community Safety Partnerships.
2. Demographic and socio-economic data collection for each site, including information from: Census, UK National statistics, Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, English Indices of Deprivation and Local authority documentation.
3. Observations, interviews (semi-structured and unstructured), group discussions and group work exercises with young people about their perceptions and experiences about their locality and the impact of policies upon young people in each locality.
4. Observations and qualitative semi-structured interviews with professionals who worked in crime prevention with young people.
5. Observation, visual methods, group work exercises and semi-structured and unstructured interviews about young people's experiences of crime, policing, safety, and security in each case study site.
6. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews about young people's experience of victimisation.

Ethnographic research

The approach taken to gathering data concerning young people's perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security is grounded in the traditions of ethnography. The conduct of ethnographic fieldwork originates from anthropology (Amit, 2000), and has been adopted and adapted by many other academic disciplines to explore, understand and research a particular social group, setting or phenomena (Ball 1998). The methods employed in this research derive in large from the work of the 'Chicago School': principally a group of urban sociologists working out of the University of Chicago in the United States from the 1920s through to the early 1960s. The tradition of early ethnographers from the 'School' were grounded 'in commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of (though not exclusively by) participant observation' (Atkinson et al., 2001:4). Furthermore, the development of ethnographic fieldwork

within the Chicago School brought about a 'rich tradition of urban sociology heavily dependent on the detailed investigation of local social settings and cultures' (Atkinson et al., 2001: 9). For the purposes of this study, observation has been key to understanding and exploring young people's experiences within, and perceptions of their locales. Of course, ethical dilemmas arise from this form of ethnographic method (Amit, 2000), and these are considered towards the end of the chapter. Engaging with young people over twelve months of intensive fieldwork established a good rapport and provided the basis to gain their views and develop understandings of the social settings in which they lived. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1) refer to ethnographers as 'participating... in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research'. This was indeed how my role as an ethnographer and qualitative youth researcher developed.

The naturalistic stance of ethnography has been criticised for its descriptive nature and lack of methodological rigour (see Emond, 2000). Much of the criticism revolves around a researcher's impact on the data through their presence in the field and the recording and interpreting of observations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Foster (1996a) considers these implications and the bias that may occur when a researcher interprets the data. Despite this, techniques such as reflexivity, triangulation and respondent validation can be used, and have been in this research, to assess the validity of the data and to minimise any corrupting influence that my presence and role as a researcher might have imposed (Foster 1996a: 90). In acknowledging the importance of reflexivity, 'where a researcher must question their own role in the research process' (Delanty, 2005: 121), was applied throughout the entire research process from beginning to end and a more detailed discussion is presented later in this chapter.

Understanding young people's lives

It is essential to foreground the way in which identifiable groups of young (working class) people are viewed and conceptualised in contemporary society when conducting research that explores their lives. This can be achieved through recognising the ways in which childhoods are socially constructed, appreciating the significance of child-adult relations and by applying a children and young person's human rights framework. Socio-historical contextualisation enables an appreciation of 'the adult-centred view of the child's world' (Emond, 2000: 98). Viewing childhood as a social construction and emphasising the social, political and economic contexts within which it is lived, provides the foundations upon which the methodological framework of this research was situated.

Young people are regularly scrutinised, monitored, and regulated because they have not yet reached 'adulthood'. As Goldson (1997: 19) argues 'age is a fundamental determinant in the distribution of rights, power and participation and children by virtue of their junior years and their institutional dependence on adults have limitations imposed upon their citizenship'. Additionally, the structural relations of class, race, gender and sexuality shape particular constructions of childhood (Goldson, 1997) and reveal that not all childhoods are universally experienced in the same way and that youth is not a homogeneous category (Cohen, 1997). The impact of class, in particular, and the ethnographic research revealed 'the continuing sociological relevance of class and place in understanding the lived experience' (MacDonald et al., 2005: 885).

The favoured methodological approach, ethnography, places young people at the centre of the research as 'experts in their own worlds' (Thomson, 2008; Abebe, 2009). When conducting research with children and young people, ethnography is a 'natural choice' method (James and Prout, 1997). Employing ethnographic methods shares and extends a tradition articulated by other youth researchers (see Thomson, 2008; Heath et al., 2009; Freeman and Mathison, 2009; and Lewis and Lindsay, 2000), where an appreciation of children and young people's rights are paramount. This

commitment to a framework encompassing children's and young people's human rights explicitly acknowledges that 'children have the right to say what they think... and have their opinions taken into account' (Article 12 of The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989). The qualitative methods employed in this research ensured that young people were given the opportunity to articulate their experiences and perceptions concerning crime, policing, safety and security throughout the fieldwork.

Since the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN Convention 1989), by the UK government, various policies and procedural measures have been implemented to incorporate and promote children's human rights. Within the academy, this has been accompanied by the increased use of participatory methods and approaches that facilitate the right of children and young people to participate actively in research. Although children and young people have not always been seen as active constructors of social meaning (Freeman and Mathison 2009), over the past twenty years more progressive developments in the ways in which childhood and youth are viewed have impacted upon research. The 'new sociology of childhood' recognised 'the discovery of children as agents' and some commentators have argued that this has placed children and young people more centrally within key aspects of social science research (James et al., 1998:164). The research presented here is symptomatic of the more explicit rights-based approach that has become more commonplace in youth research (James et al., 1998). In acknowledging that 'children are not only future members of society, they are active participants within society' (Goldson, 1997: 27), the methods employed in this research gave voice to the young people and aimed to provide a greater understanding of their lives.

Participatory research: dilemmas, distinctions and diversity

The legitimacy of involving young people in research and the participatory nature of their involvement are debated issues. Indeed, the very definition of participation, and the various levels at which young people are enabled to participate in the research process, raises key questions for youth researchers. Gallacher and Gallagher (2008)

and Boyden and Ennew (1997) define participation as taking part in some predefined activity. O’Kane (2000: 140) refers to participation as ‘handling things rather than just talking’ and Pain et al (2000) suggests that participation should result in positive change. Pain and Francis (2004) claim that young people should be involved in the research process from beginning to end. Subsequently, the varying ways in which young people might be involved in the research process has informed different perspectives on the subject. Some researchers advocate that this should be at the stage of research design (Kirby, 2004; Alderson, 2001; Holland et al., 2001). For others it should be at the stage of data generation (Murray 2006; Clark et al., 2001), or in the interpretation of findings and at the stage of dissemination (Holland et al., 2001). Heath et al., (2009) suggest there are many reasons beyond a researcher’s control that restrict the involvement of young people at least at some stages of the research process. For example dependence on funding, sponsors, or time scales. The research presented here was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and, as such, the submission of a research proposal and the designated research design developed before the fieldwork began, making it difficult to involve young people at the initial conceptual phases of the research process.

There is a clear distinction between participatory methods and a comprehensive participatory approach in youth research literature. The latter is often characterised as research designed and conducted collaboratively between researchers and researched in order to enable positive action and change (Pain et al., 2000). More traditional research may include participatory methods, but this does not necessarily make it participatory research, and there is no such claim being made here. The research presented combined ‘traditional’ qualitative methods (interviews and observations) with more explicitly participatory methods (such as visual methods and visual activities).

The more explicit participatory methods emphasised that the young people’s voices were central to the research and that they were regarded as ‘meaningfully engaged independent social actors’ (Best, 2007: 10). Providing opportunities for a range of task-centred activities (Heath et al., 2009), including photography, drawn

representations and posters, gave the young people a greater sense of control in the research process. Young people also chose which activities to participate and not participate in, which went some way towards redressing the power imbalances between the researcher (myself) and the research participants (Heath et al., 2009; Punch, 2002; Morrow and Richards, 1996; Morrow, 2008; Grover, 2004). Vital to this approach were the notions of informed consent and the opportunity for the young people to withdraw from the research at any time, issues that are discussed in the ethics section of this chapter.

Visual methods offered different ways to elicit the experiences and perspectives of young people, as well as acknowledging them as producers of knowledge. In this way, the young people were provided with opportunities to express themselves through different forms of communication that they felt most comfortable with (Christensen, 2004; Thomas and O’Kane, 1998). It is argued that the participation of young people is generally experienced positively (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008) and provides one way of empowering them (Cahill, 2004). Furthermore exploring qualitative methods clearly had advantages over other forms of data collection. As Sapsford and Abbott (1996a: 336-337) argue for example, quantitative research can often impose ‘its own conceptual schema on to the social world...designed to obtain answers to researchers’ questions; it does not yield an understanding of people’s lives in depth nor, generally, leave space for them to indicate what they regard as the important questions’. To gain understanding and extend knowledge about young people’s lives, an ethnographic approach combining innovative participatory and more traditional qualitative methods was deemed most appropriate in addressing the core research question and interrogating the underpinning primary objectives (James et al., 1998).

Selection of the fieldwork sites and the negotiation of access

Rationale for the selection of the case study sites

Two coastal resort case-study sites were deliberately selected and are referred to throughout the thesis using the pseudonyms Sandton (a relatively prosperous coastal resort) and Rockford (a coastal resort beset by multiple forms of disadvantage). The two sites were selected to offer insights into the potentially classed perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security. In many respects coastal resorts fall between urban towns and cities on the one hand and rural towns and villages on the other. As such they comprise localities where youth governance and crime control practices are likely to differ from those employed in rural and urban localities, particularly cities, that have been the focus of much prior research (see Coleman et al., 2002; Coleman, 2004; Hancock, 2001; Foster, 1992; 1995; 1996; and Karn, 2007). Social and cultural geographers have explored youth, place and space focusing on young people in rural settings (Skelton and Valentine, 1998; Meek, 2008; Panelli et al., 2007; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Nairn et al., 2003; Matthews and Limb, 2000). Research has also been conducted on crime and disorder in rural areas (Gilling and Pierpoint, 1999; Gilling, 2007; Mawby and Jones, 2004a; Mawby, 2004; and Mawby, 2007). A more extensive body of research centres on young people's use of space, together with youth crime and youth governance in urban localities (Pain, 2001; Robinson, 2000; Goldson, 2003; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; McAlister, 2007; Kintrea et al., 2008; Anderson et al., 1990; Loader, 1996). Further to this, the existing academic literature on coastal resorts has tended to focus solely on the relationship between crime and tourism (see Mawby et al., 1999; Mawby and Jones, 2004b; Gill et al., 1993). Relatively little is known about young people in coastal resorts, the significance of social class and/or the means by which they perceive and experience crime, policing, safety and security. The case study sites were selected, therefore, to fill a lacuna in existing research, both by extending sociological analyses of coastal resorts and by explicitly privileging areas that are neither rural nor urban in form (detailed analytical accounts of the two case study sites are presented in Chapter Five).

The negotiation of access

Prior to fieldwork commencing, all relevant services and agencies were contacted in each site. Advice and information about the projects and services that were available for young people in each locality was systematically collated. Information was obtained from the youth service, local safeguarding children boards, youth workers, project managers and relevant council departments. This was conducted by means of Internet searches, emails, and telephone calls. All youth organisations that provided a centre or facility for young people were identified in this way. The process proved to be time-consuming, but useful and necessary. A youth organisation was then selected in each locality, on the basis of two core criteria.

First, the youth organisation had to provide a service for children and young people within the age range of 10 to 17. Second, if there were more than one youth organisation in the locality, then the youth organisation with the largest numbers of young people attending would be selected. However, there was only one youth organisation in the town centre of each locality, making selection relatively easy. Once this information had been gained I contacted the relevant youth organisation by telephone and made arrangements to visit. Whilst acknowledging that negotiating access at the beginning of a research process can be a challenge, especially in spaces that adults control such as youth organisations, (Sime 2008) I did not find this to be the case in either site. Negotiating access with each youth organisation was relatively straightforward. Managers were generally willing and enthusiastic about the research, and were more than happy for me to volunteer at their organisation.

The two selected youth organisations varied in purpose and catered for different constituencies of young people. This was primarily because of the disparities in political, cultural and social economic conditions between each locality, as discussed in Chapter Five. These important factors contributed to the service the organisations provided. The youth organisation in Sandton offered a wide range of sports, arts and personal development programmes. These included musical theatre, drama workshops, dance workshops, and an evening youth club once a week. Young people

would pay to attend these sessions. It was the only organisation in Sandton that provided facilities for young people, aged between 4 – 19 years old, to engage with every day of the week. The youth organisation in Rockford catered for young people aged 10 – 17 years old. It provided a youth centre for young people six evenings a week and provided a free hot meal each evening. Admission was free.

Gaining access as a researcher at the youth organisations in each fieldwork site provided access to a large number of young people. The approach has proved to be a popular and successful way of entering the field for many researchers (see Beazley, 2003 and Baker et al., 1996) allowing 'for observation of the many interactions and relationships that occur in the youth club environment' (Sorhaindo and Feinstein, 2007: 7). Securing access at the youth organisations had two key benefits. First, it enabled access to the large number of young people that attended the organisation. Second, it provided the opportunity to accompany the organisations' youth workers on 'outreach' or 'street' work. This provided a means of accessing young people who did not attend youth organisations in public space. Youth workers at both sites were qualified outreach workers and I was able to accompany them in each locality to engage and talk with young people in their own locale similar to the work of Johnston et al., (2000) and Hirst et al., (2007).

Successfully gaining access to the field meant careful thought being given to my role in each youth organisation. This reflected my presence as a researcher in each youth organisation conducting fieldwork. Being reflexive throughout the fieldwork process helped to maintain and reiterate the role I had adopted, a researcher from the University of Liverpool. At times in both youth organisations, in the earlier stages of the fieldwork, some young people would forget my role as a researcher which is common (see Mitchell, 1993: 12-13; Peneff, 1985; Thorne, 1980, cited in Lofland and Lofland, 1995: 36). To correct this I would talk about the research and the activities that were planned so the young people did not think of me as a volunteer. In addition I did not wear the staff t-shirt to avoid portraying the role of a member of staff.

Selection of research participants

A minimum of 30 young people for each case study site was thought sufficient to provide rich data, through the multi-method approach, within the time frame. This was a realistic minimum at each locality for interviews to be conducted and other methods to be implemented. Significantly more young people participated in the research than the minimum number (see Table One). It is not being claimed that the sample of young people is representative of *all* young people in each locality; rather it was representative of the young people using the youth organisation during the time frame and, in the case of the outreach method, of young people on 'the streets'. The research did not set out to reach specific groups of young people as in Pain et al's (2000) study on homeless young people and school-excluded young people. Neither did it set out to only engage with young people who had offended (see Murray, 2006) or had been victimised (see Anderson et al., 1990; Mawby, 1979; Baker and Duncan, 1985 and Morgan and Zedner, 1992). Instead it aimed to gather the perceptions and experiences of young people who lived in the selected case study sites, and visited the youth organisation for recreational or leisure purposes, or socialised on 'the streets' to explore how class might frame young people's experiences and perceptions.

In acknowledging that not all young people attend youth organisations, and therefore some young people socialise on 'the streets' an outreach approach was adopted to accompany the centre-based research: initial mapping had informed me that the youth service in each locality provided outreach services, and I enquired into the possibility of accompanying a youth worker in both areas before the fieldwork began. The research sought to gather data from young people by engaging with them through 'informal conversations' (Vakaoti, 2009: 444) in public space. All young people in both case study sites lived in either Sandton or Rockford. The thesis from here on in refers to the young people with whom I spoke to in the youth organisations as 'centre-based' and the young people with whom I spoke to on 'the streets' as 'outreach based'.

The criteria for participation was only restricted by age and location: those aged between 10 and 17 years old in the geographically selected case study sites. Table One shows the number of young people who participated in each case study site.

Table 1 Number of participants in the research

Sandton		Rockford	
	No. of participants		No. of participants
In Youth organisation		In Youth organisation	
Semi-structured interviews with young people at youth organisation	10	Semi-structured interviews with young people at youth organisation	13
Peer led group discussion/focus group	8		
Photographic activity	4	Photographic activity	5
Flip chart exercises	5	Flip chart exercises	10
Group discussion	15		
		Posters	4
		Brainstorming	3
		Mapping	5
Sub Total (Organisation)	42	Sub Total (Organisation)	40
In public space		In public space	
Outreach work: unstructured interviews/conversations	39	Outreach work: unstructured interviews/conversations	38
Sub Total (public space)	39	Sub Total (public space)	38
Total	81	Total	78

Selection of appropriate methods: Planned and responsive approaches

When conducting empirical research, selecting the most suitable and appropriate tools ‘to obtain valid and reliable data – true answers to questions, not distorted by the methods of collection’ was of vital importance alongside a commitment to a human rights based conception of participation (Wilson, 1996: 98). As stated, the core methodological approach and design were determined before entering the field. A detailed and thorough research proposal and ethics application were submitted and approved by the ESRC and the University of Liverpool’s ethics committee, before entering the field. The proposal and ethics application detailed the participatory imperatives and the qualitative methods to be employed throughout the fieldwork. During the 12 months of intensive fieldwork, complementary methods were also employed on a more opportunistic and/or naturalistic level. This accounts for the difference in the type and number of methods listed in Table two. Due to the differences of the youth organisations and the nature of the activities that took place in each, methods were adapted to the activities the young people were engaged with. By doing so, additional information, meaning and understanding about the young people in each case study site were collected. Activities including group discussions and group exercises using flipcharts were employed in Sandton, and drawings and other visual techniques were employed in Rockford. Such adaptive responsiveness accords with the work of Beazley (2003: 183), who also collected ‘spontaneous drawings and mental maps drawn by the children’. The primary methods (semi-structured interviews, informal conversations on the street, and the photographic method) were carefully planned before the fieldwork commenced and are comparable between the case study sites. Although the additional data collected may not be strictly or scientifically comparable between the case study sites, they supplement and provide further insights into the young people’s perceptions and experiences. Adapting to the setting, using a triangulation of methods, and taking a reflexive approach therefore, benefited the overall research process.

Observing young people in their community habitus

Exploring and understanding the young people's day-to-day experiences could not have been achieved without thorough observational methods, which complemented other qualitative techniques of data collection. The observational methods illuminated appreciative understandings of the particular fieldwork localities; young people's perceptions and experiences; their engagements with each other, with local state agents/agencies and within their community habitus more generally. Blumer (1969: 39) claimed 'the task of scientific study is to lift the veils that cover the area of group life that one proposes to study...the veils are lifted by getting close to the area and by digging deep into it through careful study'. Blumer's emphasis on the importance of 'getting close' and 'digging deep' in the locality (and subsequently with the young people) has formed a principal rationale of this research. Observing the localities and young people's movements, their interactions in and outside of youth organisations, and the young people's particular terms and modes of engagement within their community habitus/locales were underpinning objectives of the research.

Observational methods have been applied in other studies with young people in public space (Pavis and Cunningham-Burley, 1999) including 'street' children in different countries (Vakaoti, 2009; Baker et al., 1996; Thomas and O'Kane, 1998; and Young and Barrett, 2001). The ability to record directly observations about the environment and behaviour of participants without having to resort to accounts offered by others has been suggested as being a great benefit (Foster, 1996a). Limitations of this method have centred on the presence of the researcher in the research setting and their potential impact on participants' behaviour. The problem of reactivity (Foster, 1996a) has similar implications for all the methods applied and this issue is discussed later in the chapter.

Observations occurred in a number of ways in each case study site. Visits to both localities before the fieldwork commenced helped to establish familiarity with the areas and particular places of interest for young people such as the main shopping

centres, train stations and the many tourist attractions to be found in coastal resorts. Such familiarisation was important but it was equally important to recognise my limited knowledge of the localities before fieldwork commenced, and to appreciate what Blumer (1969: 35-36) described as being 'not in close touch with the actions and experiences of the people who are involved in that sphere'. Every observation was recorded in field notes, written as soon as possible after each observational 'episode'. Direct observation allowed me to 'see it like it is' and proved to be very enlightening (Lindsay and Lewis, 2000: 79). Once inside each youth organisation, I would observe the interactions between young people; the sessions, if organised; and any general interchanges before and afterwards. Participant observation also formed part of the relationship and rapport building with the young people. Bechhofer and Paterson (2000: 98-99) suggest that it is difficult to distinguish between participant or participant observer in such settings due to 'observing and recording while participating, generally asking no more questions than any other person in the situation would'. Observations also served as a means of validation, verifying the data drawn from other qualitative methods.

Interviewing young people

Letters⁸ and consent forms for parents⁹ were distributed to young people after two months had been spent in the field in Sandton and after four months in Rockford. Once signed and returned interviews were arranged for a time convenient to the young person. These were before, during, or after activity sessions in Sandton and at any time during the evening in Rockford. Signed parental consent forms were returned at a gradual pace in Sandton. In Rockford, once documentation was given to the young people, the majority of parental signed consent forms were returned the next day and I had an overwhelmingly positive response. By learning from my time spent in Sandton, documentation was handed out later in Rockford, enabling for stronger relationships and trust to be formed over the given period. When consent

⁸ Appendix 8 and 9

⁹ Appendix 10 and 11

was obtained from parents, a list was drawn up and interviews were conducted on a first-come-first-served basis. Due to differences between the two sites, it was important to be reflexive, flexible and adaptable to the research setting, reviewed at the end of the chapter when discussing reflexivity.

The semi-structured interviews took place in either the youth-centre manager's office or a room in another part of the building in both sites where no one could overhear and where privacy prevailed. The semi-structured interviews followed the interview schedule that I had prepared before fieldwork commenced, which acted as an 'aide-memoire'¹⁰ (David and Sutton, 2004: 87). The interviews varied from 30 minutes to 45 minutes in duration at Sandton and between 30 minutes and up to two hours in Rockford. In Rockford the majority of young people who were interviewed wanted to talk for longer and enjoyed having somebody to listen to them. Questions were asked in an open-ended fashion in order to allow the young people to speak freely. I also used prompts in the interviews to enquire further about something the young person said, or to introduce a supplementary question. All young people agreed to the interviews being audio recorded and they signed their own consent forms¹¹ before each interview began, additional to gaining consent from parents and guardians (reviewed at the end of the chapter).

The semi-structured interviews collected in-depth rich narrative accounts of each young person's experience and perceptions, and comprised vital data. In adhering to the importance of placing young people's voices central to the research 'given the frequent marginalisation of young people's voices within society', the interviews were a 'powerful tool for – quite literally – giving voice to their experiences and concerns' (Heath et al., 2009: 79). In addition the interviews allowed for reciprocal verification between interviews and observations which was particularly useful throughout the life of the fieldwork. Where appropriate, observations recorded in my field notes were extracted and discussed in the interviews when more detailed

¹⁰ Appendix 13

¹¹ Appendix 1 and 2

information was sought on a particular issue or observation. This not only enabled a more conversational approach to interviewing but it also became a useful 'verification tool' (Vakaoti, 2009: 444) and emphasised the complementary nature of the other methods used.

Outreach youth work in public space

Gathering the views of young people 'on the street' was of equal importance to gaining the views of young people who attended the youth organisations. In Rockford, outreach was more embedded than in Sandton and I was able to accompany each of the youth workers on outreach, on an adhoc basis, for the first three months. After this time I then accompanied a youth worker from the youth service for the remaining period of fieldwork. In Sandton, the youth service did not systematically employ outreach at the time of fieldwork, even though this was originally confirmed to me before fieldwork began. Therefore outreach was conducted more sporadically and less formally with a youth worker from the youth organisation as often as possible. Earlier observations and outreach work with youth workers enabled me to develop a good knowledge of the localities and particularly the public places where young people congregated. I began to develop a good local understanding in each site, and many groups of young people recognised me when I was out and about. When I approached groups of young people and explained my research, I obtained easy access and all groups were very willing to respond to my questions¹². I experienced no adverse reactions at all in either of the localities. Recognising the personal safety issues involved in proceeding in this way, a close family member and youth worker was always informed of my whereabouts and the times I was conducting outreach, and I always carried a mobile phone.

Visual methods: photography

Employing visual methods in the research emphasised both the participatory imperative and allowed the research 'to incorporate knowledge that is not accessible

¹² Appendix 12

verbally' (Pink, 2004: 361). The young people were fully informed through letters, consent forms, participation information sheets and my own detailed discussions with them. Disposable cameras were given to those who opted to participate in the activity. The young people were given the opportunity to take photographs of places of particular significance to them; for example a place where they liked to go, or where they felt safe. The young people were given a list of ten prompts and were invited to take photographs of what the words meant to them. The prompts are detailed in Table Two. The method provided another way to acquire young people's perceptions and experiences of community/public space and allowed for minimum control and interference from the researcher and maximum self-determination for the young people. Vakaoti (2009: 446) refers to the method as providing a 'photovoice' which aims 'to give voice to the voiceless' (Visweswaren, 1994 cited in Thomson, 2008: 3).

Table 2 List of prompts for the photographic method

Prompts	
1	A safe place
2	A safe place with friends
3	Something that is anti-social
4	A fun place
5	A sad place
6	A young person's place
7	An old person's place
8	An adult place
9	A happy place
10	A place that the police control

Once the disposable cameras had been returned and the films had been developed, sessions were arranged to discuss and reflect upon the outcomes. This happened differently in each site. In Sandton, one group session was arranged for the four participating young people to discuss their photographs, and in Rockford this was conducted on an individual basis with each of the five participating young people. (The difference in the number of participants accounted for the varying interest showed by the young people in each locality). Reflecting upon this activity in Sandton,

I decided to pursue the photographic activity at an earlier stage of my fieldwork in Rockford. This was to allow for the return of signed consent forms, and also for getting the photographs developed and arranging sessions. As and when cameras were returned in Rockford, the films were developed and individual sessions were arranged with each young person on a first-come-first-served basis. In a separate private room each young person was given their photographs and asked to place them under the title (prompt) that the photograph represented. When doing so they were asked to explain why they had taken the photograph and conversations were audio-recorded. In Sandton the group discussion with the young people and their photographs proved to be insightful and informative, similar to the work of other researchers (see Morrow, 2001; Thomson and Gunter, 2007; Elsley, 2004). Likewise, engaging in one-to-one meetings in Rockford proved to be beneficial because I was able to learn from each young person about their reasons for taking the photographs. This approach emphasised 'young people's positions as active social agents who play an important role in shaping the world around them' (Heath et al., 2009: 116). The photographs served to map the locality and informed my understanding of how the young people conceptualised their community and experienced their engagements with public space. Through this method, areas of public space that were 'controlled' by others such as other young people, adults or the police were also highlighted. The method produced rich data that allowed 'young people to take control of the research process and the representations that they consider significant' (Vakaoti, 2009: 447). Other spontaneous participatory techniques, such as brainstorming, mapping, and drawings all proved to be effective complementary methods of data collection when conducting research with and about young people (see Pain et al., 2000). The way in which methods were employed in Sandton would not have worked in the same way as in Rockford and vice versa. The methods varied because the young people in each site varied. I was sensitive to the research setting and adapted. Numeracy and literacy were more of a problem in Rockford (acknowledged in the next chapter) and therefore the young people were more inclined to partake in drawing and mapping exercises.

Visual methods: Flip chart exercises

Writing questions on flip charts for the young people to answer with marker pens was a popular and well-used group work technique in the youth organisations in both Sandton and Rockford. The young people were familiar with working in this way and, as such, I adopted this approach as an additional method of data collection. My questions centred on young people's experiences of the police, safety, danger and anti-social behaviour. Young people's conceptualisation of anti-social behaviour revealed particularly varying views, illustrated in Chapter Six. The questions were re-worded in Rockford slightly so that the young people were able to better understand them. This reflected the difference in levels of understanding and education between the two sites.

Peer-led focus groups and group discussions (in Sandton)

Arranging peer-led focus groups proved to be challenging and time consuming, which is not uncommon in research of this nature. The method seemed most appropriate to collect a 'mixture of personal beliefs and available collective narratives that are further flavoured by the local circumstances of participants' (Warr, 2005: 200). Ten young people participated in Sandton. One young person took charge of facilitating the session. I sat back from the discussion in another part of the room and allowed the conversations to evolve. With the young people's consent, the session was audio recorded.

The young people in the group knew each other beforehand and this benefited natural discussion (Heath et al., 2009). A general disadvantage of this type of method has been the influence of dominant individuals in a group and the notion of peer pressure. However, this did not appear to be problematic in Sandton. On a number of occasions throughout the discussion, some young people would agree on something and another member of the group would interject with an alternative view. This method proved to be an important way of gathering young people's views in a way that moved beyond the power imbalances that might occur between

researcher and participant (see Punch, 2002; Morrow and Richards, 1996, Morrow, 2008; Grover, 2004).

In addition to the above, monthly group-discussion sessions were conducted between the lead youth worker and the young people in Sandton. This provided opportunities to observe and participate in sessions that gave further insight into the young people's lives, perceptions and experiences. The first session that I observed involved the young people listing topics that they would like to discuss in future sessions, which the youth organisation referred to as their 'action plan'. Topics included alcohol awareness, sex education, relationship advice and bullying. A further group session was conducted on safety and security in public space and alcohol awareness. The lead youth worker and I chose to share the session and I prepared questions on safety and security. The group of young people sat in a large circle on the floor and flip charts were used to record their views. The young people were also given individual pieces of A4 paper to write their personal thoughts on. These sessions helped me to understand what issues concerned the young people at that particular time and provided further insight into understanding their lives.

Posters and 'brainstorming' (in Rockford)

At least once a week in the youth organisation in Rockford some of the young people would sit down and draw or make things. I was able to take advantage of the opportunity to employ other methods of data collection that were not originally planned: for 'gathering unanticipated information' (Sorhaindo and Feinstein, 2007: 7). On one occasion, four young people were invited to draw a poster advertising the locality using coloured card and felt tip pens that I had provided. How the young people represented their home town/coastal resort was very interesting and complemented other methods of data collection. On another occasion, the young people asked me if I had anything else for them to do. The idea of 'brainstorming' (see Punch, 2002a: and Pain et al., 2000) was employed. This allowed the young people to think about and write down words associated with the themes 'victim', 'crime' and 'school'. As already noted, these additional visual methods allowed for

different forms of communication that the young people felt most comfortable with (Christensen, 2004; Thomas and O’Kane, 1998). Similar to Punch (2002a) the visual aids also provided an opportunity on which to probe more in-depth information about the particular theme which was utilised in the interviews.

Mapping (in Rockford)

A further method implemented in Rockford was a mapping exercise pertaining to safety and security in public space. I enlarged a map of Rockford to A3 size and provided various coloured stickers and pens. I invited the young people to devise a code for the stickers and then place them on the map to represent places where they felt safe, places where they felt unsafe and places where they walked or visited. Five young people took part in this exercise. This method has been used effectively by others to explore young people’s understandings of space and place (see Kintrea et al., 2008; Reay and Lucey, 2000; Pain et al., 2000) and in Rockford it uncovered young people’s perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security in public space through a different method of communication.

Interviews with professionals

Although the primary focus of the research was on young people’s experiences and perceptions, it was also useful to seek the views of professionals in the field to add an additional dimension to the research and to provide a further layer of data. The interviews also provided good background information about the services provided in the research sites, and how the professionals felt such services related to the lives of young people. This was useful in comparing young people’s perceptions with those of the professionals, and exploring any similarities and/or differences between them. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with professionals (see Table Three) at their place of work. All the interviews were audio recorded and consent¹³ was gained beforehand. Initial contacts were made available through the main gatekeeper at each site, whose local knowledge was beneficial and participant information sheets

¹³ Appendix 15

were emailed to the potential professionals¹⁴. Furthermore, each professional interviewee normally provided additional contacts and enabled me to adopt networking or 'snowballing' methods (Heath et al., 2009). The difference in the number of professionals interviewed in each site accounted for the opportunistic basis on which the interviews arose.

Table 3 Number of professionals interviewed

Sandton		Rockford	
Semi – structured interviews with professionals			
Youth service manager	1	Youth worker	1
Inspector of police	1	Inspector of police	1
Learning Mentor	1	Neighbourhood management co-ordinator	1
Learning Mentor	1	Police	1
Community Safety Partnership manager	1	Chief Inspector who sits on the Community Safety Partnership	1
		Social worker from the Youth Justice Service	1
		Community worker	1
Total	5	Total	7

¹⁴ Appendix 14

Ethical issues

The processes of seeking consent

Seeking consent from research participants included processes that were implemented over a period of time. Building up a good rapport with the participants was an important part of the research. This occurred before consent for the participation in the actual research was sought. It permitted the young people 'to exercise control in deciding whether they wish to participate in a research study' (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 43) which remains an important principle of participatory methods. All participants were informed about consent and about the reasons, methods and purpose of the research (Alderson and Morrow, 2004; Morrow and Richards, 1996). Participant information sheets¹⁵ were provided to the young people to make sure that they were properly informed about all of the methods and letters were handed out¹⁶. All documents were written in a manner appropriate to the age range of the participants, in a manner that avoided giving too much or too little information, which can be either 'misleading or off putting' (Heath et al., 2009: 26). Documentation such as consent forms, participant information sheets, and letters to parents, carers and guardians had to be worded differently in each site. In Sandton, forms were used but these had to be changed in Rockford due to different literacy levels of the young people and adults.

After the young people were fully informed about the nature of the research, and oral consent had been gained, informed consent was sought from their parents, carers or guardians. The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) *Article 1* defines a child 'as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger'. In addition to this the *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DCSF, 2010: 34) guidance, Section 1.19, defines a child as 'anyone who has not yet reached their 18th birthday'. Due to the research involving

¹⁵ Appendix 6 and 7

¹⁶ Appendix 3, 4 and 5

participants aged between 10 and 17 years old, and in following the guidance above, informed consent was obtained from both the young person and the relevant adult.

An information sheet, parental consent form and letter were sent, or taken by the potential participants, to the relevant adult. Participants also signed an additional consent form prior to the start of each interview. This adhered to the policy and procedures of the youth organisations, where parental consent forms are sent out to relevant adults prior to activities and events taking place. This also follows the British Sociological Association (2004) and British Society of Criminology (2006) ethical codes of practice, that advocate that the consent of the child should be sought in addition to that of the parent. However, seeking consent from parents in Rockford proved difficult. When consent forms were handed out to the young people, many came back with apparently forged parental signatures. When I enquired about this the young people informed me that their parents did not sign forms and many were unable to read and write, therefore, the young people signed them instead. My gatekeeper informed me that this often happened and that the youth organisation had in the past telephoned parents for consent and I elected to follow this practice.

Confidentiality and anonymity

The research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the ESRC insists that all funded research should be openly available to the scientific community. In accordance with the ESRC Research data policy this research will be deposited in the UK Data Archive and, therefore, adheres to their six key principles of the Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) (see ESRC 2010). British Sociological Association (2004) and British Society of Criminology (2006) guidelines - for anonymity and confidentiality - were also followed and applied. In addition, the proposed research was scrutinised and approved by the School of Sociology and Social Policy's Ethics Committee, which fully complies with the University of Liverpool standards for ethical research.

Participants were not identified in any aspect of the research. Generic titles are applied to the young people in the data chapters that follow, for example (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview) or (Male 12 Rockford Outreach-based). As previously acknowledged, pseudonyms were applied to the research sites and youth organisations. Generic titles have also been applied to managers at the youth organisations who were the principal contacts such as 'gatekeeper' or 'youth worker/manager'. The professionals interviewed in the research were given generic titles to ensure that no individual was readily identifiable. However, some professionals were distinctive respondents, who might be identified by their recognisable positions. In such cases the limits of anonymity were explained before the interview took place and all professionals were still willing to be interviewed.

An ethical responsibility during the process of seeking consent was to inform potential participants about the intended possible uses of the research, data storage, and dissemination. The data that I took in written form and the audio recordings were stored in a secure locked cabinet (safe) in my office at the University. Typed field notes and any related documents were kept on a password encrypted memory stick which was also stored securely. The data on the memory stick was also anonymised. The participants were informed about the purpose and possible outcomes of the research, for example that the findings would be disseminated and accessible to NGOs at a national level, policy makers in local authorities and also practitioner networks such as the Community Safety Partnerships locally. It was explained to all participants that the data would be written up for the purpose of my doctorate and that a summary report would be produced after the fieldwork and be given to the youth organisations involved. Young people were made aware that they could contact me at any time regarding feedback and copies of the summary report were made to all participants at the end of fieldwork. The participant's anonymity in these documents was reassured.

Ethical issues arising from the photographic method

When preparing and planning for the photographic activity, I was aware of the points made by Sime (2008) and Vakaoti (2009) regarding the possibility of participants taking photographs of other human beings. To overcome this, the young people were explicitly asked not to do so when being informed about the method and this was also stipulated on the information sheets. All photographs were taken of places except for one in Sandton where a participant took a photograph of another participant in the study to portray a safe place with friends, which was deemed acceptable as both had given consent. The photograph of the friend has been concealed however, to ensure anonymity.

Criminal disclosures

The nature of this research posed the possibility of young people disclosing/discussing illegal activity. Whilst being aware of the guidance from the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) Section 115 which states 'to disclose information to specified relevant authorities (e.g. those engaged in Crime Prevention Work) where the disclosure is necessary or expedient for the purposes of that Act' (Home Office 1998), I decided that I would use my professional judgement to deal with this situation if it did occur. Central to the research was the importance of building a good rapport with the young people. If I were seen to be disclosing information it would have been very difficult to progress with the research. It was decided that if something was disclosed to me of a serious nature involving harm to others then the youth manager at the organisation would be informed and subsequently this would be left to their discretion. The young people were informed of this and it was stated on the Participation Information Sheet also (see Appendix Six and Seven). However, this situation did not arise during the fieldwork.

Data Analysis

The research employed a triangulation of qualitative methods (Denzin, 1970). Field notes, interview and focus group transcripts, flip chart poster and brainstorming exercises and visual materials (mapping and photography) were all analysed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Grounded theory, associated with qualitative research, concerns the discovery of themes from the data collected (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The process allowed for themes to emerge from the data, and all data was appropriately coded according to the themes, concepts or patterns that emerged. This was achieved through pen and paper methods which involved close reading of the data using a set of procedures that Boulton and Hammersley (1996) refer to as grounded theorising. Topics and themes were initially categorised before reading through the data again. This process was continued and themes were coded and re-coded until all categories were identified. Key phrases, terms and practices that Boulton and Hammersley (1996) refer to as 'insider terms' were also identified in this way. Data assigned to each category was then compared and contrasted within and between categories that Glaser and Strauss (1967: 101) refer to as the 'constant comparative method'. Sub categories were then created identifying relationships among categories. The process served to define categories and identify patterns, re-occurrences and relationships with other categories by engaging 'inductively, systematically and repeatedly with the data' (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 153).

This manual process was initially applied to all of the textual data collected before a qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software package was used. NVivo 9 was used to manage and further analyse the collected data by looking across and within it to allow for further coding of themes, patterns and relationships. Nvivo 9 was specifically chosen given that it is particularly beneficial in allowing for the analysis of visual and textual data. Coffey et al., (1996) claims that computer packages, such as NVivo 9, are useful tools for ethnographers that serve as an analytical as well as a representational device. It allowed for all the data to be stored in one place where photographs and visual materials could be linked and coded with textual documents. This inductive

process advanced in a back and forth movement between the data and the purpose and focus of the research (Freeman and Mathison 2009). There was some concern that using such software packages would transform the qualitative data into a form of quantitative data analysis (David and Sutton, 2004) but this did not prove to be the case.

In the same way that analysing textual data poses problems concerned with interpretation, analysing visual data such as photographs, drawings and posters raises additional concerns. Thomson (2008: 9) highlights that 'just like a word, an image is a human construction and culturally specific'. Concerns over the reliability of images and 'mediating between lived experiences and representing the meaning of that experience' (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 159) were relevant to the research. To overcome this, photographs, posters and drawings were analysed with reference to the additional commentary provided by the young people. When each visual technique was employed, the young people were audio-recorded talking about what they had drawn or photographed. Therefore the interpretation of the photograph was shaped and informed by language and its accompanying description (Price, 1994). The addition of qualitative commentary helped to stabilise the meanings of the image and provided a 'road map' into understanding the feeling and experience depicted (Gauntlett, 2005 cited in Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 160). 'Photo elicitation', the coupling of words and images, allowed for an interaction between the two (Burke, 2008: 28; Thomson and Gunter, 2007). The importance of the content of an image (internal narrative) and the social context in which they were created (external narrative) produced by the photographs were of equal importance (Banks, 2001). Paying attention to both strengthens the analytical process (Freeman and Mathison, 2009:148).

Reflections from the field

Throughout the chapter I have acknowledged how the presence of a researcher can impact upon the data collection and analysis. Threats to 'validity' and 'reliability', which Foster (1996a) refers to as both 'personal and procedural reactivity', suggest

how participants can act differently because they are aware of the researcher's presence. Through building up a good rapport and trust with the young people and, as far as possible, unobtrusively 'blending' in with their environment, the impact my presence might otherwise have had on distorting the data was mitigated. In order to 'gain acceptance' by those that I was researching (Heath et al., 2009:49) I tried to fit in and adopt a role which was a balance between observer and participant similar to that of Mandell's (1991) 'least adult' role. I joined in with many of the activities that the young people participated in. If my role was to have been just an observer, my presence might have been questioned and thought of to be 'strange' as in Pollard and Filer's study (1996: 94). To some extent my role enabled me to view the social world the young people were part of through encountering 'what they experience and do, individually and collectively, as they engage in their respective forms of living... the world of everyday experiences' (Blumer, 1969: 35).

Reflexivity allowed for the continual monitoring of my role throughout the research process, evaluating the extent to which my methods were reliable and valid, the optimisation of young people's participation and the ethical integrity of the research. For these reasons triangulation was consistently applied in order to validate all sources of data collection alongside self-reflection. This is regarded as a 'means of confirmation and as a way to provide information one data collection strategy might not have generated' (Freeman and Mathison, 2009: 148). As Foster (1996a: 91) suggests 'if a researcher's conclusion is supported by other data then we can be more confident of its validity'. Cross checking particular strands of data with other sources, for example interviews with observations, and visual methods with interviews, provided greater validity and reliability.

The photographic method was employed, as explained, as a means of giving young people more control over the research process. But it also revealed other interesting findings. Indeed, the significance of the camera in the research process has been raised by Pink (2004: 367) who asked 'how does the type of camera one uses and the way it is used contribute to the way informants see and judge the researcher?'. When reflecting back on the photographic method, it was apparent that the camera, a

disposable one, was received differently by the young people at each site. In Sandton, disposable cameras were looked upon as not very exciting. However, in Rockford, being given the opportunity of owning a camera was well received. Some young people would voice their interest, sign up to participate and take a camera, but then later on claim they had been lost and would ask if they could have another one. The camera, therefore, was popular and an exciting method to use in Rockford. Similar to Morrow's (2001) research, disposable cameras were used because they were relatively cheap to buy and to have the negatives processed. Also if they were lost or not returned, as in Rockford, then this was not a great loss. Using disposable cameras in the research process, therefore, highlighted the importance of the role of the camera as well as my own role in the research (Pink, 2004). Being reflexive also showed the different material values that the young people placed on the camera.

A researcher's role: Self-reflection

By spending six months in the youth organisations in each of the fieldwork sites, a potential risk of what has been commonly termed as 'going native' (O'Reilly, 2009: 87) was raised. This term, originating from Bronislaw Malinowski's ethnographic research in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), refers to 'the danger for ethnographers to become too involved in the community under study, thus losing objectivity and distance' (cited in O'Reilly, 2009: 87). It has been postulated that if a researcher identifies 'so closely with one's subjects that one inadvertently skews his [sic] description and analysis of the world being portrayed' (Monti, 1992: 325). By being reflexive throughout the duration of the fieldwork, I was careful to distinguish between my own interpretations and feelings that were recorded in my field notes, and data collected through interviews, visual techniques and each of the other methods of data collection. Writing a research journal every day provided 'emotional and mental distance' (O'Reilly, 2009: 116) from the participants and the settings, and also a physical distance by travelling away from the case study sites each evening. Conducting research with young people, and building a rapport with them, does not necessarily mean that 'you have to turn native in order to argue from the native's point of view' as Geertz (1983) has contended (cited in James, 2001:254). The

challenges for the ethnographer are to be aware of both the closeness and the distance that they have with their participants (Alvesson, 2003).

Being consistently reflexive throughout the process of data collection and data analysis, in particular reflecting on my role as a researcher, allowed me to overcome these concerns (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). As Delanty, (2005: 119) acknowledges, 'reflexivity is the key to the epistemology of the standpoint of the social actor'. Therefore, standpoint epistemology affirms that if a researcher has 'insider' status, they therefore have a privileged role over a researcher with 'outsider' status (Becker, 1963; O'Reilly, 2009; Heath et al., 2009). However, some reject the view that a researcher needs to share the same characteristics as those they are researching (Hollands, 2003; Nairn et al., 2005; Taft, 2007). I adopted a role that acknowledged the differences between the researcher and the researched (Mayall, 2000) even if my overall perspective was 'appreciative'. Even though I was older (aged 28 at the time of fieldwork) than the young people that participated in the research, it was not a vast age gap as can often be the case when conducting youth research (see Morris-Roberts, 2001; Armitage, 2012; Proweller, 1998; Moore, 2003). However, it did not give me 'insider status' as such (Heath et al., 2009). The young people at both case study sites thought that I was much younger than my age. Whether this may have benefited me in building rapport with the young people or not is debatable. I believe it was the art of listening and maintaining ethical integrity that was of paramount importance (Pattman and Kehily, 2004; Frosh et al., 2002).

Leaving the field

After a period of intensive fieldwork, leaving each case study site was an important part of the research process. The 'disengagement' process (Snow, 1980) raises ethical and moral questions where the researcher finds themselves 'confronted with a set of questions and issues concerning his/her indebtedness and moral obligations to those persons studied' (Snow, 1980: 114) raising the fundamental question 'do we ever leave the field?' (Stebbins, 1991: 248). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) point out that most ethnographers retain acquaintances with those that they meet during

fieldwork and 'leaving the field' does not necessarily mean that these relationships have to end. Recognising the emotional elements of the fieldwork process (O'Reilly, 2009) and the rapport that had been built over each six-month period, it was important that leaving the field was given careful consideration. In line with Lofland and Lofland's (1995: 63) 'etiquette of departures', the young people at both case study sites were informed ahead of time when I would be leaving and the reasons why, and assurances were given that I would keep in touch. Since leaving the field, visits have been made on a regular basis to each site. Overtime, this has become less frequent although I still remain in contact with some of the young people through email and telephone calls, and make visits when I can.

Conclusion

The research employed a triangulation of qualitative methods to enhance the quality and validity of this research whilst emphasising the necessity of young people's participation in matters that affect them (UNCRC, Article 12 Right to Participation, ratified in 1991 by UK government). Acknowledging the importance of young people's narratives and interactions (James et al 1998) emphasised that the triangulation of methods were fundamental in exploring and understanding young people's lives in each locality (Vakaoti, 2009). The ethnographic approach was adopted to explore experiences and meanings that young people associated with policing and governance and their conceptualisations of safety, and security in two very different contexts – one an excluded and marginal context and the other a more affluent and 'successful' consumption space. The next chapter details the case study sites, which were deliberately selected to offer insights into the potentially classed perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security.

Chapter Five: The case study sites: Socio-economic profiles

Introduction

This chapter outlines the socio-economic contexts within which young people's experiences and perceptions of crime, policing, safety and security can be understood within each of the two case study sites (coastal resorts). Inasmuch as young people's identities are 'shaped by local neighbourhood, community and urban policies and practices' (Hopkins, 2010: 119), the profiles provide a sense of the milieu within which young people perceive, experience and attribute meaning to their environments. Notwithstanding the limitations of statistical data - which have been well documented elsewhere (see Maguire, 1997; Atkinson, 1978) - statistics are employed here as a 'descriptive medium' (Maguire, 1997: 139) to illustrate the socio-economic profiles of each case study site and, fundamentally to draw out the significance of social class.

The statistical information itself is derived from numerous databases available between 2011 and 2014 including the Census, Neighbourhood Statistics, The UK Data Service and the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The Index of Multiple Deprivation in Wales published in 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2011 and the English Indices of Deprivation (2000; 2004; 2007; 2010) have also been consulted. However, the two indices are calculated, measured and published differently, hence this compromises literal like-for-like comparisons between the specified coastal resorts in England and Wales. Notwithstanding this, national and local averages have been used to provide the broader contexts within which each of the case study sites are embedded.

The chapter places particular emphasis on the socio-economic factors and environmental conditions that affect children and young people in each of the case study sites. Several indicators used by agencies such as the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and UNICEF to measure child poverty and well-being illustrate

significant differences between the case study sites. UNICEF's (2007) six dimensions of child well-being and the Office for National Statistics' (ONS 2011) key indicators of deprivation are used as guides. Whilst recognising that child poverty is defined in different ways the ONS definition has been used in this chapter to demonstrate that: 'it is relative; being not just about having income and resources, but also about having a good quality of life including health, education, housing, and well-being' (ONS 2012: 4).

Particular care has been taken not to include data that would identify the study sites and pseudonyms have, therefore, been used for each coastal resort. As already noted, 'Sandton' refers to the case study site in England and 'Rockford' for the Welsh locality. Where data is unavailable for Sandton and Rockford at the micro level, statistics for the unitary authorities within which they are located has been sourced and referenced. For example, 'Sandton Local Authority Council 2013' (SLAC 2013) and 'Rockford Local Authority Council 2013' (RLAC 2013) are referred to in the chapter and in the bibliography. The chapter is organised into sections within which the demographic data from each site is compared. A profile of the coastal resorts is given before the rest of the chapter is broken down under headings corresponding to key indicators of deprivation.

The mixed fortunes of coastal resorts

Coastal resorts, defined by Cave (2010: 162), are associated with one or more of the following features:

- tourism as the dominant industry;
- a specialist tourist infrastructure (promenades, piers, parks etc.);
- housing stock that includes Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs) and caravan sites.

Although the above features might express the commonalities of coastal resorts, the same places also represent significant diversity:

“The reason why one resort prospers and another is in crisis is due to the complex interaction of global and national shifts in culture and the economics of the tourism industry, and the way that these interact with the local dimensions of culture, class images, the built environment created by previous rounds of investment, and the capacity of both the local state and private investors to adapt to change” (Shaw and Williams, 1997: 13).

Indeed, the social and economic profiles of the two case study sites are prime examples of the differentiated nature of coastal resorts. In short, Sandton does not appear to have the social and economic problems that Rockford has acquired. A detailed analysis of the reasons behind Sandton’s sustained ‘success’ as a popular coastal resort to visit, as opposed to Rockford’s decline, is outside the scope and remit of this research project. The socio-economic and demographic data are simply presented.

Sandton

Sandton, located in England, has a population of around 90,000 residents (Census 2011). Historically it has been a refined tourist destination with a long history of attracting visitors from as early as the 1800s. Sandton has managed to overcome and resist decline in the tourism trade. It features in a number of well-known visitor guides and it continues to attract a large number of visitors throughout the year. Sandton has traditionally been regarded as a destination for a more affluent and older cross section of clientele when compared to others coastal resorts nationally, and it attracts a large number of retirees who either visit regularly or settle there.

Rockford

Rockford, located in Wales, has a population of approximately 25,000 residents (Census 2011) and it has been particularly affected by the declining UK tourism industry and seasonal tourist trade. Its once renowned attractions are no longer present; has been demolished and the town itself has also suffered with a number of

major retailers either shutting completely or relocating elsewhere. Many hotels have either closed and been demolished, seriously deteriorated or been converted into Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs). The economic decline of Rockford has had a significant impact on employment and, as detailed further below, the resort experiences high levels of unemployment compared with the rest of the UK and Wales. A number of regeneration projects have been active in Rockford, but despite efforts to date it remains ranked as one of the most deprived areas in Wales (Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation WIMD 2000).

That being said, a significant factor accounting for Rockford's demise is likely to be the availability of low-cost foreign travel and the resultant shrinking of the traditional UK tourist base since the 1970s (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Cooper, 1997). The seasonal business trade and the competition with foreign holidays deeply disadvantaged some coastal resorts and they became 'caught in a cycle of decline' (Rickey and Houghton, 2009: 46). In many respects, such resorts share commonalities with post-industrial towns (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003). For example, many coastal resorts are affected by unemployment and have claimant count rates significantly higher than the national average (Shaw and Williams, 1997; Cooper 1997; Walton 1997). Furthermore, the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2007: 8-9) acknowledged that coastal resorts 'account for a disproportionately high percentage of England's deprived areas', and this situation also applies in Wales (Beatty et al., 2009), where the following characteristics typify disadvantaged coastal resorts:

- physical and social isolation;
- high proportions of older people together with higher levels of outward migration among young people;
- low-wage, low-skill economies and seasonality of employment;
- frequent dependency on a single industry, and a high incidence of poor housing conditions and a high proportion of private rented homes.

(The House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee 2007: 8-9).

Demographic characteristics of Sandton and Rockford

Sandton has a relatively high proportion of older inhabitants. In 2011, residents aged 60 years and above accounted for over 30 per cent of the population, of which 20 per cent were retired. This is significantly higher than the national average which stands at 13 per cent (ONS 2011). The population of Sandton includes many of the country's wealthiest older people in England (SLAC 2013). In contrast, the proportion of the population over of 65 year olds living in Rockford is 19 per cent, which is only slightly higher than the national average in Wales of 17 per cent (ONS 2011). The largest population age group living in both Rockford and Sandton were those aged between 30-59 years of age and the smallest population demographic was the 25-29 year olds (see Table Four). Young people aged between 10 and 17 years old accounted for 9 per cent of the total population in Sandton and 10 per cent in Rockford respectively (see Table Four).

Table 4 Age structure in Sandton and Rockford 2011

Age (Persons)	Sandton	Rockford
Approximate % of population		
Age 0 – 9	10	12
Age 10-17	9	10
Age 18-24	7	9
Age 25-29	5	6
Age 30-44	17	18
Age 45-59	21	19
Age 60-64	7	7
Age 65-74	11	10
Age 75 and over	12	9

Source: Office for National Statistics (ONS 2011) – updated 30 January 2013.

The ethnicity of residents in both localities were also very similar (see Table Six). There was an approximately 50/50 split of male and female residents at both case study sites. The key differentiating feature between the two sites, however is social class. Sandton, as stated, is a relatively prosperous resort with a buoyant and stable middle class. Rockford, by contrast, is affected by multiple forms of deprivation and its population is distinctively working class.

Table 5 Ethnicity of residents in Sandton and Rockford in 2011

Ethnicity (persons)		
Approximate % of total population	Sandton	Rockford
White British	97	96
Mixed Multiple Ethnic Groups	1	1
Asian	1	2
Black/African/Caribbean	0.4	0.3
Other Ethnic Group	0.4	0.1

Adapted from Census 2011 and Neighbourhood statistics 2011.

Social factors and environmental conditions

It is very well established within the social science literature that the impact of social, economic and environmental conditions such as income levels and quality of housing can have profound effects on many aspects of life including health, educational achievement and future economic status (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). The contrasts between the two case study sites are striking in this respect.

Child Poverty

Although poverty is a universal concept its definition is often contested (Gordon 2006). There are many definitions and ways of measuring poverty¹⁷. That said, the Department for Education in 2009 claimed that ‘extensive research and data show that children who grow up in poverty face a greater risk of having poor health, being exposed to crime and failing to reach their full potential’ (cited ONS 2010: 3). According to a definition provided by Save The Children (2011: 3), children are classed as living in severe poverty if they live in ‘a household with an income of below 50 per cent of the median (after housing costs), and where both adults and children lack at least one basic necessity, and either adults or children, or both groups lack at least two basic necessities’. In this respect, child poverty was relatively low in Sandton; 16 per cent of children were recorded as living in poverty in 2012, which was lower than both the English and the local authority average of 20 per cent (Padley and Hirsch, 2013). In comparison, 54 per cent of children and young people were living in poverty in Rockford in 2012, compared to the local authority average of 23 per cent (Padley and Hirsch, 2013), and 15 per cent were recorded as living in ‘severe poverty’ (Save the Children 2011).

Child health and well-being

Informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), UNICEF uses the infant mortality rate¹⁸ (IMR) as an indicator of child health: ‘to ensure the child’s enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health, including by diminishing infant and child mortality’ (UNICEF 2007: 13). Low birth weight is also a strong indicator of deprivation, vulnerability and short and long term health problems (RLAC 2012). The IMR and child mortality rate (CMR) reported in Sandton were better than the English national average (Public Health England 2014).

¹⁷ ‘Child poverty’ is a contested term and is defined by the government’s Department for Work and Pensions as ‘children living in families in receipt of either out of work or tax credits, whose reported income is less than 60 per cent of the median income or in receipt of income support or (Income based) Job Seekers Allowance, divided by the total number of children in the area (determined by child benefit data)’ (Department for Work and Pensions 2013).

¹⁸ The number of deaths before the age of one per thousand live births (UNICEF 2007: 13).

However, in Rockford the IMRS and the CMRS were higher than the Welsh national average (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). Furthermore, children born in Rockford were more likely to have a low birth weight and 2010 saw an increase in the rate of low birth weight babies (RLAC 2012).

Additional measures to consider with regard to the well-being of children and young people in any locality include the question of healthy eating, the incidence of smoking and the rate of children born to teenage mothers (UNICEF 2007). In Sandton four per cent of children aged 4-5 years old were recorded as obese (SLAC 2013). In Rockford, 28 per cent of children aged 4-5 years old were recorded as overweight, or obese (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). In Sandton, 13 per cent of 14-17 year olds were reported to be smokers, more than one in every ten within the borough (Public Health England 2014). In Rockford, 16 per cent of children were reported to be smoking at least once a week (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2012).

In Sandton, the rates of teenage conception among girls aged 15-17 was 40 conceptions per 1,000, which was slightly below the national average of 41 per 1,000 (Public Health Intelligence 2013). In Rockford, between 2002 and 2011, the conception rate for girls aged 15-17 in the county was 370 per 1,000, compared to the Welsh national average of 340 per 1000 (ONS 2013.) Furthermore, Rockford was recorded as being one of ten wards in England and Wales with the highest rates of 15-17 year old pregnancy (ONS 2013).

General health and well-being

The percentage of households where at least one person had a long-term health problem or disability and dependent children is important because children living in such households are more likely to miss out on opportunities to play and learn (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). In Sandton households recorded as having one person with a long-term health problem or disability with dependent children accounted for 3 per cent of the population (ONS 2011). In Rockford, this accounted for 49 per cent of all households (ONS 2011). Eighty six per cent of residents in Sandton recorded that they felt in either good, or fairly good health (ONS 2011) and 77 per cent of

residents in Sandton reported that their day-to-day activities were not at all limited (ONS 2011). Conversely, the number of persons who described themselves, as being not in good health in Rockford was recorded at 18 per cent and the number of persons who classified themselves as having a limiting long-term illness was recorded at 31 per cent (ONS 2011). Over 15 per cent of residents in Sandton stated they were smokers (SLC 2013). In Rockford this was recorded as 28 per cent (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). Overall, the health profile of Rockford is poor. The county within which Rockford is located regards the health of residents as a major concern (RLAC 2013) with the issue of housing being a significant contributing factor:

“It would appear that the abundance of cheap seaside accommodation in both the private and public sector have attracted migrants over several generations that are now trapped in a vicious cycle of low income and life circumstances, many of which have drug and alcohol related problems” (RLAC 2013).

In 2007-2008, figures for the county in Rockford revealed that 3000 people were referred to substance misuse treatment providers, 63 per cent for alcohol abuse and 37 per cent for drug abuse (ONS 2011).

Youth provision

The youth organisation in Sandton, where the research was conducted at offered a wide range of sports, arts and personal development programmes. These included music, theatre, drama workshops, dance workshops, and an evening youth club once a week. Young people were required to pay to attend these sessions. There were three further youth organisations that provided facilities for young people outside of Sandton’s centre. Young people who attended the youth organisation at the centre of the research were also involved with the UK Youth Parliament. The Sandton local authority had its own Young Advisors scheme, which was part of a national movement comprising over 50 such schemes across England. The Youth Service serving Sandton also provided various facilities for young people: a substance abuse service, a drug action team, a parenting club, numerous nurseries, a housing advice

centre, and at various times of the year, detached or outreach youth work projects. During the period of 2010-2011 the youth service engaged with 25 per cent of young people aged 13-19 years out of which 15 per cent of young people were involved in activities at least four times per month (Sandton Youth Service 2011). Some schools in the area also ran peer support schemes for pupils who were affected by bullying. In addition, there were over twenty sports clubs in the vicinity offering a variety of activities ranging from golf and tennis to rugby. Other resources for young people included the cinema, tenpin bowling lanes, a swimming pool, theatre, leisure centre, arts centre, library, and a skate park.

The youth organisation at the centre of the research in Rockford provided free admission and a free hot meal each night, along with games, activities and educational sessions. There was another youth organisation further out from the centre located next to a high school. In addition there were sporting clubs, a leisure centre, a playground, a skate park and a cinema. Children and young people in the area could also volunteer in a project that the police managed including local environmental projects to help improve the area and to develop relations between young people and the police. Once a week youth workers from the local youth service would deliver outreach or detached youth work in the area, which involved two youth workers engaging with young people at places where young people gathered on the streets. Rockford also had a Youth Inclusion Programme¹⁹ (YIP). The programme identified and worked with 50 young people deemed by local agencies to be the most 'at risk' (YJB 2008). There were also a number of voluntary organisations in Rockford that were engaged in youth crime prevention programmes, for example the YOT (Youth Offending Team) worked with the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, and the Princes Trust.

¹⁹ Established in 2000 by the Youth Justice Board 72 projects were set up and located in the most deprived neighbourhoods in England and Wales.

Housing and Household Composition

The ONS (2010: 10) claims that lone parent families are more likely to comprise low-income households (34 per cent) than families with two adults (18 per cent). Children in single parent families are also twice as likely as children in two parent families to be living in poverty (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). Lone parent households with dependent children accounted for 8 per cent of all households in Sandton, compared with 10 per cent in Rockford (ONS 2011). Of the lone parent households, Sandton and Rockford both reported that 89 per cent were female lone parent households ²⁰ with the remaining 11 per cent being male lone parent households. Although the rates of lone-parent families in Sandton and Rockford were broadly similar, however, the economic status of the families is markedly different. Lone parent households with dependent children in part-time employment were recorded at 39 per cent in Sandton in 2011, with 27 per cent in full-time employment and 34 per cent not in employment (ONS 2011). In Rockford, lone parent households with dependent children in part-time employment accounted for 24 per cent in 2011, 18 per cent were in full-time employment and 58 per cent not in employment (ONS 2011).

In Sandton 33 per cent of households owned their houses compared with 24 per cent of people in Rockford (see Table Six). The majority of residents in Sandton were recorded as prosperous suburban families (Acorn, 2013). Sandton reported a lower proportion of rented social housing than the local authority average, at approximately 6 per cent as compared to the local authority average of 15 per cent (SLC 2013). In Rockford, there were a high proportion of people who rented their homes from the council or from a private landlord (First Release, 2012).

²⁰ Defined as lone parent households with dependent children (ONS 2011).

Table 6 Housing tenure in Sandton and Rockford in 2011

Description (Persons)	Approximate % of total population in Sandton	Approximate % of total population in Rockford	England % of total population	Wales % of total population
Owned outright	33	24	26	30
Owned with a mortgage or loan	42	38	40	40
Shared ownership	1	1	1	0.3
Council rented	1	9	9	9
Social rented	5	8	8	6
Private rented	18	20	17	14
Living rent free	1	1	1	1

Source: Office for National Statistics 2011 – updated 30 January 2013.

Average prices for a detached house in Sandton were recorded at just under £300,000 and a flat, or apartment, at £120,000 (SLAC 2013). In the same year in Rockford, the average house price was recorded at between £80,000 and £100,000, with a flat being valued at approximately £45,000 (RLAC 2013).

When comparing the living arrangements of residents in both localities, Sandton had more married and fewer single²¹ people: 58 per cent of residents living in households aged 16 and over were recorded as living in a couple, of which 46 percent were married (ONS 2011). Residents recorded as single in Sandton were 22 per cent. In Rockford, 41 per cent of residents were living in a couple, of which 25 per cent were married, and 59 per cent were registered as single (ONS 2011).

Whereas Sandton is a settled largely middle class community, the decline of the seaside tourism industry has left Rockford with a legacy of over approximately 1000 large 3-5 storey houses that, over the past 30 years, have been converted into HMOs (RLAC 2013). The significant number of cheap rental properties that this has produced

²¹ Single defined as never married or never registered a same-sex civil partnership (ONS 2011).

has attracted many people to the area and, given the nature of the accommodation, has resulted in a highly transient population over 81 per cent of people in Rockford have had their housing tenancies for less than 5 years (BURA 2007; Housing Renewal 2009). The problems associated with HMOs have been highlighted in the media, particularly within the local press, and the issue of housing has been identified as a major problem in Rockford. Indeed, following the decline of the coastal resorts in the 1970s, government policy led to many of the empty properties becoming home to vulnerable adults coming through the social services system (community care) and those newly released from prison. As one local council member stated:

“until there is improvement in the condition of private sector rented accommodation, the conveyor belt that has moved many hundreds of individuals and families, many with drug and alcohol related problems, into the area over the past years to be re-housed will not stop” (RLAC 2013).

Education and schooling

Schools and qualifications

A measure of ‘overall child well-being must include a consideration of how well children are served by the education systems in which so large a proportion of their childhood is spent’ (UNICEF, 2007: 19). In Sandton there were 26 schools comprising primary, junior, infant and high schools, and in Rockford there were 18. In addition, there were two pupil referral units (PRU) in Rockford which were formed under section 19 of the Education Act (1996) ‘to provide education to children of compulsory school age who, on account of illness, exclusion or for other reasons, are unable to attend a maintained school’ (Brown 2011: 5). The two PRUs in Rockford provided an alternative education primarily for young people who had been excluded from mainstream school. Both PRUs claimed that pupils were often referred due to challenging behaviour.

The educational attainment of young people in Sandton and in the local authority area has improved year on year since 2008. In 2008/2009 the percentage of pupils in

their last year of compulsory education who achieved 5 or more grades at A*-C was 77 per cent, higher than the English national average of 70 per cent (ONS 2011). In 2013, four out of the five high schools in Sandton had over 84 per cent of their students achieve 5 or more grades at A*-C. In contrast, pupils in the local authority of Rockford have been underperforming when compared to the national average for Wales. The percentage of pupils obtaining 5 or more GCSE grades at A*-C in 2007-2008 was 51 per cent in the local authority area compared to the national average in Wales of 56 per cent (ONS 2011). In 2008-2009, 60 per cent of pupils in Rockford achieved 5 or more GCSEs grades A* - C compared to the national average in Wales of 64 per cent (ONS 2011).

In Sandton over 35 per cent of persons have qualifications in 5+ O Level (passes)/CSEs (Grade 1)/, (Grades A*-C) and 14 per cent of residents have higher education qualifications. In Rockford 32 per cent of people have no qualifications and only 7 per cent have accessed higher education (ONS 2011). Furthermore, the Wales Basic Skills Survey (2009) suggested that 46 per cent of 16–65 year olds in one part of Rockford had literacy skills equivalent to, or below, that of a typical 9 year old, while 77 per cent of 16-65 year olds in the same area have numeracy skills equivalent to the same standard (RLAC 2013).

Free School meals

Free school meal entitlement is a proxy for deprivation. Entitlement is based on a measure of household income (Public Health Wales Observatory 2013) and free meals are only available to families who receive income support. Feinstein and Sabates (2006: 5) claimed that 'at all key stages learners eligible for free school meals tend to perform significantly less well than those not eligible'. A report by Ofsted (2013a) highlighted that coastal towns are often places where educational under-achievement exists at an even higher level than that which might be expected in relation to the number of pupils eligible for free school meals. As such, some coastal resorts are now amongst the most educationally deprived parts of the country

(Ofsted 2013a). In 2014, the House of Commons Education Committee reported the severity of underachievement for white working class children:

“White working class underachievement in education is real and persistent. White children who are eligible for free school meals are consistently the lowest performing group in the country, and the difference between their educational performance and that of their less deprived white peers is larger than for any other ethnic group” (House of Commons 2014: 3).

Fifteen per cent of pupils in the borough of which Sandton belonged to were eligible for free school meals in 2012, less than the English average of 17 per cent (Department for Education 2012). In Rockford 36 per cent of pupils were eligible for free school meals when compared to the Welsh average of 19 per cent (WIMD 2011). In 2012 in Sandton, 38 per cent of 19 year olds previously eligible for free school meals qualified to Level 2 in English and Mathematics in 2012 (Ofsted 2013a). In 2012 in Rockford, the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals who achieved the Level 2 threshold in English, or Welsh, and Maths was 28 per cent (RLAC 2012).

Labour market profiles

Youth unemployment

Young people’s transition from education to employment is an important indicator of educational well-being (UNICEF, 2007: 20). UNICEF (2007: 20) claims that young people who are neither in training nor employment are clearly at greater risk of exclusion or marginalisation. Economic recessions have a particular impact on young people as decreased job availability makes it harder to enter the job market (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). In Wales 16 per cent of 16-24 year olds were unemployed in 2011 compared to 14 per cent in England. Apparently bucking this trend, youth unemployment figures fell by 20 per cent from October 2012 to October 2013 in Sandton, whilst overall unemployment in Sandton decreased by 15 per cent (Nomis 2013). In Sandton 8 per cent of 16-24 year olds were unemployed in March 2013, which had decreased from the previous year when it was just under 10 per

cent. In stark contrast, youth unemployment in Wales rose every quarter between 2008-2011 with Rockford reporting the highest rates of youth unemployment in Wales (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). In 2013, the youth unemployment figure in Rockford was recorded at 17 per cent for 16-24 year olds, which is slightly higher than the Welsh national average of 16 per cent (Public Health Wales NHS Trust 2013). It is not only rates of unemployment that distinguish Sandton and Rockford, however, but also the nature of employment.

The Office for National Statistics uses the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (ONS 2011 NS-SEC) to categorise occupations under eight headings. Within this, categories six - eight might be grouped together to be defined as 'working class'. The NS-SEC categories of Routine and Semi-routine occupations (or what were conventionally known as 'semi-skilled' or 'unskilled' occupations) 'entail a 'labour contract' where employees are closely supervised and given discrete amounts of labour in return for a wage [...] that was typical of working class occupations' (Rose and Pevalin, 2001: 10 cited House of commons Education committee 2014: 8). In Sandton, information on all usual residents in households, revealed that the highest percent of the population were categorised as category two (Lower Managerial, Administrative and Professional Occupations) at 24 per cent (ONS 2011). In contrast, In Rockford the highest percentage of the population were categorised at category six (Semi-routine Occupations) at 21 per cent (ONS 2011).

Employment in Sandton consisted of a mix of professional and managerial, clerical and skilled occupations with educational qualifications tending to be in line with the national average (Acorn, 2013). Data from the 2001 Census shows that managers and senior officials formed the largest employment group in Sandton at that time (Census 2001). In 2011, managerial positions (higher, lower and professional) still accounted for the largest employment group; however, due to a change in the categories in the 2011 Census, occupations were not strictly comparable to the 2001 data. Sandton had a higher proportion of managers 22 per cent and professionals 14 per cent when compared nationally 11 per cent (Nomis 2013).

In 2001, the hospitality sector (hotel and restaurant) in Rockford employed less than 8 per cent of the working population, reflecting the significant change in employment patterns over the last 30 years, (Census 2001). The same 2001 Census reported the largest employment group to be in the wholesale and retail sector, and by 2011 this had shifted again with the highest percentage of people working in routine and semi-routine occupations.

State benefits

Table Seven presents figures for the number of 16 – 64 year olds receiving out-of-work benefits in 2013. In Sandton in February 2013, 18 per cent of the working age population were in receipt of key out-of-work benefits. In Rockford, this was recorded at 57 per cent for the same period.

Table 7 Percentage of working age population claiming benefit in Sandton and Rockford in 2013

Total claimants 16-64 years old in February 2013			
Approximate Persons %	Sandton	Rockford	Great Britain
Job Seekers Allowance	6	17	4
ESA	10	27	6
Lone Parents	1	4	1
Carers	1	5	1
Others on income related	1	2	0.4
Disabled	1	3	1
Bereaved	0.2	0	0.2
Total: Key out-of-work benefits	18	57	11

Source: Department for work and Pensions (2013) Benefit claimants – working age clients for small areas Nomis 2013.

Children living in 'workless' households have a higher risk of living in poverty than those who do not (ONS 2010: 16). In Sandton, the number of such households with children living in them where out-of-work benefit was being claimed was 175 and in Rockford the recorded figure was significantly higher at 310 (ONS 2011). In Sandton in May 2011, the age demographics of children living in out-of-work benefit claimant households were recorded as the following: 44 per cent 0-4 year olds; 26 per cent 5-10 year olds; 22 per cent 11-15 year olds; and 8 per cent 16-18 year olds (Department for Work and Pensions 2011). In Rockford in May 2011, the age demographics of children living in out-of-work benefit claimant households were recorded as follows: 36 per cent 0-4 year olds; 26 per cent 5-10 year olds; 28 per cent 11-15 year olds; and 10 per cent 16-18 year olds (Department for Work and Pensions 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the key demographic characteristics of both case study sites, revealing commonalities but, more significantly, considerable differences. The highly seasonal character of a coastal resort can clearly put residents at a disadvantage. However, Sandton has not suffered the same problems of economic decline in the tourism industry that Rockford has and, ultimately, has not encountered the same social problems that are prominent in Rockford. Key indicators of deprivation, poverty and child well-being were used to illustrate that, when education, housing and health were considered, the young people living in Sandton were enjoying a better quality of life than those in Rockford. In 2012, 54 per cent of children and young people in Rockford were living in severe poverty (CPAG 2012).

The youth service provided a valuable facility for the young people in each locality during the fieldwork period. The impact of cuts that Britain experienced post 2008 impacted heavily on the young people that attended them, resulting in the closure of the youth organisation in Rockford, and the youth organisation in Sandton relying upon entrance fees to continue providing a service after their loss of funding from the Youth Service. There were more facilities and services for the young people to attend for leisure and entertainment purposes in Sandton when compared to

Rockford. Notably, in Rockford Pupil Referral Units, and an active Youth Intervention Programme (YIP) delivered services to the most at 'risk' young people in the locality, reflecting considerable differences when compared to Sandton.

Official statistics revealed that there were more single residents living on their own and not married in Rockford than in Sandton and housing tenure and occupancy varied considerably between the two case study sites. More residents owned their property in Sandton than in Rockford and many households in Rockford were defined as living in deprivation. Social problems related to health and unemployment were seen as being connected to the large proportion of HMOs in Rockford, which was, in turn, a cause for concern. More generally, long-term illness, disability and poor health issues were higher in Rockford than in Sandton.

Unemployment rates, and the proportion of people claiming benefits, were higher in Rockford than in Sandton and also higher than the national average for Wales. Young people in Rockford were under achieving educationally especially when compared to the levels of educational attainment in Sandton that were above the English national average. Consequently, literacy and numeracy skills were low for residents in Rockford and over 50 per cent of the residents did not have any qualifications. These differences played out in the occupational groupings of the residents in the two localities, with those living in Sandton much more likely to hold positions as managers, or to be professionals, than in Rockford. Not surprisingly high levels of unemployment and educational under-achievement impacted more significantly on the young people in Rockford than in Sandton.

The socio-economic profiles presented here have set a further level of context for the data chapters that follow. Indeed, the data chapters delve into the impact that socio-economic differences have upon young people's lives, and how they perceive and experience crime, policing, safety and security.

Chapter 6: The significance of social class and place; young people's differentiated experiences of living in coastal resorts

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three that analyses the research data and presents the findings. It considers the importance of social class and place in understanding the everyday lives of young people and, in particular, for comprehending their perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security. Recognising that people are shaped by place (Beynon et al., 1994) as it determines our experiences (Relph, 1976), the implications of this are considered here. The manner in which young people make sense of place and produce meaning (Agnew, 1987) and how they interpret the social world around them (Beynon et al., 1994) are all discussed. The varying levels of young people's attachment to place are explored (Green and White, 2007), reflecting that places, like people, possess multiple meanings and identities (Valentine, 1997).

The significance of what place means to young people has been discussed for many years and is central to debates on the impact of globalisation (Bauman, 1998). Youth studies researchers have claimed that when young people construct and create identities in public space, it is regarded as a positive experience (Relph, 1976), through shaping social identity (Beynon et al., 1994). However, not all young people experience positive outcomes when territorial identities impact upon social mobility, as Kintrea et al., (2008; 2011) have shown.

Although some academics have claimed that the importance of place identity and locale are less relevant in post-modern times (Featherstone, 1991; Miles, 2000), many young people continue to identify with their local community/neighbourhood (see Andersen et al., 1999; Hendry et al., 1993; Pearce, 1996; Taylor et al., 1996;

Kintrea et al., 2008; 2011; Watt and Stenson, 1998; Crawshaw, 2001). These findings reinforce Lefebvre's (1991: 86) standpoint that 'no space disappears in the course of growth and development, the worldwide does not abolish the local'.

The ethnographic research therefore, revealed that class and place are still pertinent in understanding the lived experiences of young people (MacDonald et al., 2005; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). The chapter explores how class restricted or enabled access to facilities and opportunities in each locality. Indeed, class underpinned the means by which young people navigated public space; how they interacted and engaged with each other, and what leisure facilities or opportunities they participated in (MacDonald et al., 2005).

The key aim of the chapter is to explore the lived experiences and the differential uses of public space (White 1996), alongside an analysis of how young people create spaces and identities as integral parts of their everyday lives (Robinson, 2000). By doing so, the ways in which class textures young people's experiences (Katz, 1994) are revealed. The chapter is organised around the main place-based themes that emerged from the data: access and restrictions in public space, leisure time and access to play; image and place; youth identity and territoriality and place attachment.

Living in a coastal resort: Access and restrictions in public space

"There is no place, no matter how ragged or remote, that is not legally owned by someone, some business, some centre, some government...Therefore teenagers have limited ability to manipulate private property. They can't own it, can't modify it, can't rent it. They can only choose, occupy and use the property of others" (Childress, 2004: 195-196).

Childress (2004) illustrates the nature of legally owned public space within which young people face barriers because they 'have no obvious right to spaces of their own' (Lieberg, 1995: 720). Young people's occupation of public space therefore,

undoubtedly attracts attention and has been a historically recurrent source of adult concern (Skelton and Valentine, 1998). Their presence has continually been the source of public fears, resulting in exaggerated media coverage labelling young people as 'threatening' and 'dangerous' (Hendry et al., 1993: 359). When young people are visible in public space and described as 'hanging around' or 'loitering' (Hall et al., 1999), they often become the subject of problematisation and categorisation (Skelton and Valentine, 1998), as one young person from Sandton explained:

"The only place you can really go is around the front and everything, people are always like saying you are doing wrong because you are there, but you are not if you are just walking there but people automatically assume and they are like, if you are just walking down the street you can't stay there because people are just looking at what you are doing standing there" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre interview).

Youthful behaviour in public space then becomes regarded as 'troublesome' behaviour (Squires and Stephens, 2005). The young people in Rockford were the target of such negative media coverage when waiting outside their youth centre during the summer holidays. Headlines of a local newspaper in Rockford deemed the youth centre to be the cause of anti-social behaviour because the young people would congregate outside waiting for it to open:

"The behaviour of youngsters congregating around the youth centre may lead to a road accident...This has been a bit of a disaster for the area...These are not little kids, they are aged up to 17. Smoking, spitting, drinking, you name it, they do it. They just hang around outside my place, and my wall and yard have become a play area for them" (Local Welsh Newspaper 2011).

The young people in Sandton commented that because they were living in a coastal resort they were affected by the seasonal trade. The nature of the tourist industry impacted profoundly on the young people's leisure time and what they could do at different times of the year. They felt that there were not many facilities for them in the winter, and that amenities were mainly only open in the summer, leaving the winter months an isolated time for them:

"In the winter there's just nothing to do. We just have to wander about" (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

Whilst young people in Rockford were restricted anyway to such amenities due to cost, regardless of the time of the year, they were aware that in the winter the closure of many of the tourist facilities, emphasised the feeling of nothing to do:

“Half the stuff that we could go to are closed cos its winter so there’s nothing to do so...that’s the downside of it being a seaside resort I think” (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre interview).

However, the young people in Rockford did suffer from the seasonal trade which affected the cost of living:

“When it is close to summer they raise all everything up all the prices of everything. Yeah you go anywhere, but what it is, is local people when they go shopping, so like when my gran and grandad go shopping the prices go up so you can’t really afford anything. Like food and everything. It’s a struggle in summer. Yeah the shop in my street they go up to a ridiculous price and then they go back down” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre interview).

The young people frequently commented that when places were open in the summer, however they were not for them and the amenities were primarily for the benefit of tourists and visitors:

“There is not enough fun stuff, and I can’t afford to do most of it. The fairground used to be good as you could get a £10 wristband for all day and we used to go there but now it’s £3 a ride and it’s too expensive I don’t go there anymore” (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre interview).

“I used to go to the arcades about once a month with my cousin, now I think it’s for tourists” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre interview).

“The [swimming] centre is just never open either, that’s why all there is arcades and they’re for tourists really” (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre interview).

Observing young people in their own locality and learning how they engaged with public space highlighted how social class restricted or enabled their leisure time. Participating in many of the facilities in each resort incurred a cost. Such consumption spaces, as Raco (2003: 1871) argues, ‘tend to be geared up to the needs of wealthy visitors, not to local groups or communities, who are often culturally and even physically excluded’. Whilst young people from wealthier backgrounds, like the youth centre-based young people in Sandton, were able to acquire ‘other recreational resources that [were] closed to those from poorer backgrounds’, resonating with

Karsten's (2005) research (Cited in Pickering 2012: 947) the young people who did not attend the youth organisation in Sandton regularly commented how they were unable to pay for such amenities reflecting the view of young people who do not attend youth centres:

"There is not much, but there are other things... but like there is not a lot, like cinema and stuff that all costs money to go. So the only thing you can do is go into town" (Female 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

This is also added to their presence in public space which was policed intensely, discussed in Chapter Seven. Restricted access to facilities due to a lack of money was regularly mentioned in Rockford; specifically, when going to the arcades without money to spend led to young people being removed from the premises:

"Erm you have to take money otherwise they'll chuck you out. If you don't have money and you go then they'll chuck you out because they don't know what you're doing and you could be doing anything" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre interview).

It was evident that the young people who used these spaces for non-commercial activities were seen as a nuisance by the business owners (White, 1993). If the young people did not have the means to pay and play the machines, then this part of public space was closed off to them (White, 1996). The arcades were also restricted to some young people because of their age:

"Yeah cos like if you're going to the arcades when you're like 12 if you're not with an adult they'll tell you to get out... Cos they think you're like robbing, well not robbing but like banging the machines to get money out" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre interview).

Young people were, therefore, often compelled to spend large amounts of time outside, due to the lack of affordable activities. Their social class inevitably impacted upon access to amenities in the area and consequently they would occupy spaces in public that are visible to others, such as shopping centres, parks, and streets, in order to make places of their own and as an expression of their identity (Robinson, 2000). Young people in Rockford, therefore, would pursue alternative activities that did not require any money:

"I go to the little parks and just like sit down with my friends and talk about the day erm and talk about what's going on in our life and how the day went and just talk about it and that" (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre interview).

This was also similar to the outreach young people in Sandton:

"We wander around there. You don't really do much really, just hang around and talk to each other" (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

The young people in Rockford tended to be more creative in their leisure time, and would entertain themselves in different ways. This would involve walking or free running²², and going to places that they did not have to pay to enter or need equipment for:

"I like just walking around by the sea I like erm sitting on the walls with people I like doing different things. And well that's what me and my [friend] like doing walking around and if we see a high wall like really high we just start walking and running up the wall" (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre interview).

Rockford suffered multiple forms of deprivation, and young people in Rockford appreciated that they lived in a coastal resort meaning that they could use the beach for leisure activities because it did not cost anything:

"The beach and things are not that dear when you think about it, and it's a lot of fun, instead of staying in the back garden all the time" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre interview).

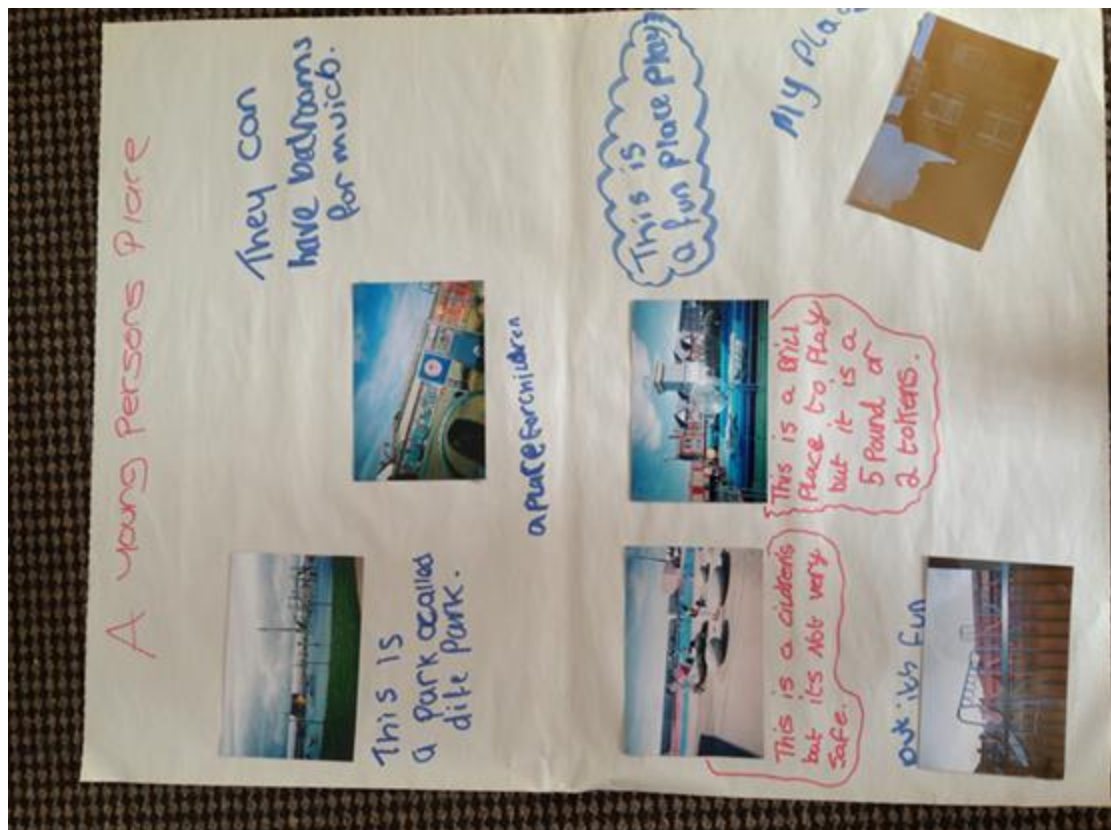
The photographic method in Rockford supported this view where a young person took a photograph of somewhere that was 'a young person's place' and wrote "this is a brill place to play but it is 5 pound or 2 tokens" (see Figure 1). The prevalence of cost continually impacted upon a young person's leisure time in Rockford, and similarly those young people in Sandton whom I spoke to outreach. Figure 2 is the same photographic method, but conducted in Sandton, reflecting different responses to 'a young person's place' without any remarks about the issue of the cost to play.

²² Freerunning is a cultural phenomenon that its founder Sebastien Foucan defines as 'Free' because it's free, and just 'running' (see Foucan 2008: 8).

Figure 1 Photographic method in Sandton 'a young person's place'



Figure 2 Photographic Method in Rockford 'a young person's place'



In Rockford, spending time in public space was an everyday experience for both centre-based and outreach-based young people due to their lack of money:

“Hang around here (youth centre) and the skate park and in town. Mainly town...about 80 per cent of the time” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre interview).

“Most of the time...Nine half nine on a school night and weekends half ten eleven” (Male 13 Rockford Outreach-based).

“Erm like from 5pm to 9pm on school days...and at the weekends 4– 10.30pm. Later like at the weekends” (Females 4 all aged 15 Rockford Outreach-based).

However, open spaces to use for recreational purposes were an issue in Rockford. School fields, parks and gardens were locked up at 9pm, which Travlou (2003) has argued should be one of the few autonomous spaces that young people should be able to go to. Parks, perhaps an obvious choice of space for young people to frequent, came with a restriction – an age limit:

Young person (YP): “We’ve been moved off the park for ridiculous things even though I’ve been there with my little sister”.

Researcher (R): “Have you? Why?”

YP: “Cos I’m over age like...you have to be I think its 12 like”.

R: “There’s an age limit on parks?”

YP: “Yeah and it shuts at some ridiculous time whenever till 8pm. You have to be 12, 12 and under”.

R: “Who has told you that?”

YP: “The police, they have moved us from there” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre interview).

Young people in both localities frequently commented that there was nothing to do for younger people in both coastal resorts:

“Nothing to do. There’s absolutely nothing to do. Apart from like when you’re older you can go out to the pubs and stuff but for kids I don’t think there is. They’ll all be on the streets I reckon...But yeah we haven’t actually got that much that younger people can do apart from the bowling and cinema that’s about it really” (Female 16 Sandton Outreach-based).

“Need more stuff cos there’s only the arcades and it’s just a place for gamblers do you know what I mean. But like my little brother there is no place for him like say for little ones anymore ” (Male 14 Rockford Outreach-based).

The young people interviewed through outreach spent considerably more time in public space than the youth-centre based young people in Sandton. However, many of the older young people who attended the youth centre in Sandton spent some time in public space, mainly at weekends though when the youth centre was closed:

“Every Saturday we go to town it depends where, sometimes you go to the bandstand, sometimes you go down by the grass and stuff. We just hang around and talk to each other, it’s not much that we do” (Male 16 Sandton youth-centre interview).

Many places that these young people occupied in Sandton were related to the consumption of alcohol. Whilst it is acknowledged that some young people in Rockford drank alcohol, it was not as prominent an activity as in Sandton. Young people could afford to and many young people tended to drink alcohol in certain locations which were out of public view, in order to get away from the supervision of adults:

“I don’t know, this sounds really bad but like I used to spend a lot of my time going out at parks at night and drinking and doing all stuff like that because I wouldn’t say that there are many places around Sandton to go. Like the main place I used to go and hang around was the skate park but that just used to be somewhere to go and get drunk every week” (YP 16 Female Sandton youth-centre interview).

Perhaps, inevitably, the consumption of alcohol in Sandton became a major concern for the youth workers at the youth centre. Sessions were delivered to address the issue and Chapter Eight highlights the consequences of the ‘drinking culture’ and the ‘risks’ it posed to the personal safety of young people. As one police officer described:

“We do have some issues, some... how do you put this... well no you can never make this sound good... its irresponsible parents...Now for me there were some complaints from parents and when we did some of the work with kids and certainly some of the comments when we used to find drunken kids and take them home some of the comments we got off parents were really quite surprising. Things like what are you doing with my daughter because I gave her that bottle of wine she can drink that bottle of wine if she wants and it’s like no she can’t because she was inside an area where you are not allowed to drink... They don’t get their priorities right and you see that regularly you know they’ll turn up in a big 4 wheel drive car dump the kid in the town centre with

a bottle of wine. Go off to do what they want to do and come back and pick the kid up at 11 o'clock in the evening. They are out of the way then. And of course in the meantime they get picked up by us. That was a regular issue. Hasn't been so bad the last few months, but once it gets to be the summer again they will be back" (Police Officer Sandton Interview).

The differences in young people's recreational time, and their access to resources highlighted the impact of social class. Many more young people in Rockford spent recreational time in public space due to being unable to afford the pleasures of the tourist industry. The same applied to the young people who did not attend the youth organisation in Sandton. However, the majority of the youth centre-based young people in Sandton would access facilities in the area and spent less time in public space, as the next section details.

Young people's leisure time and access to play

The ethnographic fieldwork in each locality revealed significant differences in the leisure activities of the young people. The variances in play, leisure and access to opportunities between the young people in Sandton and Rockford revealed differences underpinned by class. The majority of the young people who attended the youth centre in Sandton were chaperoned there by parents in order to participate in organised activities, similar to the findings of Valentine and McKendrick's (1997) research. Sessions were provided to improve the young person's extracurricular skills through singing, dancing and sports:

"It's helped my confidence and it's given me something to do" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview)

These paid for sessions were in contrast to the youth centre in Rockford, where admission was free and the youth centre provided a safe place for young people to socialise and to receive food. The provision of a hot free meal every night was essential for some, as one young person stated:

"Like I've seen like both ...I wasn't one of the kids that came in because I was starving all the time I was quite lucky in that sense but... there are a few things to do in Rockford but you need to pay for them and none of them have got the

money they can't even afford to eat, I'm not saying that is a bad thing it's just the way things turn out... you know it's true because they can't afford like...not that their parents will just not feed them it's just that they haven't got enough money to feed them and like keep the house" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The extract below from one interview in Sandton exemplifies the busy and demanding schedule typical of many of the youth centre-based young people there:

"I go to the dance academy on Mondays at 5pm I do modern and I also do ballet on a Wednesday now... oh I have a friend who I know from my other drama class who comes here and does Pilates and a fitness workshop, but they clash with my Monday nights" (Female 13 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

Another young person described why he attended the youth centre, emphasising the youth centre's commitment to providing informal education; a dominant feature of youth work funded by the youth service (Smith 1988):

"It's interesting, its enriching I mean we have got enrichment days every Wednesday at school but you really don't learn much there, it's here that you learn something" (Male 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In contrast, the young people in Rockford attended the youth centre as an alternative to 'hanging around' on the streets:

"I always come here every day ...didn't want to start drinking and smoking. Wanted to avoid falling into that way of life" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"People are friendly and there's stuff to do to stop me from getting in trouble and stuff on the streets" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The differences in the activities provided at each youth centre emphasised two things; first, that unlike Rockford many young people could afford to participate in extracurricular activities in Sandton, and second that the young people in Sandton were more closely chaperoned. Newson and Newson (1976) argue that 'middle class young people gravitate to partake in exercise or creative activities when outside the home and tend to be more supervised by their parents, whilst working class children are expected to spend more time outside the home' (cited in Valentine, 1997: 77). Restrictions imposed by parents consequently led to many of the younger youth centre based people in Sandton not spending much time in public space. Valentine (1997) suggests that parents impose boundaries and consequently restrict children's

use of space (Hart, 1979) by using what Katz (2006: 108) defines as ‘terror talk’. This was evident from the extract below:

“When we are on our bikes we usually go around the block, my mum won’t let me go any further, we can just go around the block and go into each other’s gardens, because I have got a trampoline so they like to go around to mine and go on the trampoline....but sometimes when you go there (parks) there are boys that hang out there and my mum doesn’t really want me to take my brother because just in case something happens” (Female 13 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

Valentine (1997) emphasises that these anxieties are predominantly middle class and examines the chaperoning of young people to various activity centres. Middle class families have the money and transport to do so but young people from low income families have less access to this resource (Valentine, 1997). Although the findings of this research concur in part with Valentine’s (1997) conclusions on chaperoning and resources, it was not the case that parental anxieties about young people’s safety in public space were predominantly middle class. In Rockford, the young people strongly articulated a discourse around ‘stranger danger’ (Katz, 2006), predatory adults and paedophilia. Adults were perceived as a threat to their personal safety. Parents in Rockford were very aware of some of the unsafe places and would trust the young people to take notice of their warnings. As in the findings of Sutton (2008: 543), ‘these children were expected to manage risk much more than the private school children’ (Sutton 2008: 543). The concept of young people as vulnerable to attacks by strangers was overwhelmingly articulated by the young people in Rockford, rather than Sandton, and this is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Differences in leisure activities between the two localities suggested that, in Sandton, restrictions to the young people’s use of public space were also parent-imposed. Resonating with Valentine’s (1997: 77) research, the younger people in Sandton spent ‘more of their leisure time indoors or taking part in activities supervised by adults’ whereas most of the young people in Rockford, regardless of age, spent the majority of their time in public space and subsequently had a stronger presence in, and relationship with, their locality (See Matthews et al., 1999). The research findings suggested that ‘poverty and material disadvantage reduces children’s opportunities

to participate in organised and structured leisure activities' in line with the conclusions of Sutton's (2008: 544) research. When young people do occupy public space, particularly in a group, this often attracts the attention of 'others' - young people and adults - and can often lead to conflict (Lieberg, 1995).

Image and place

Although both case study sites are coastal resorts, Sandton, unlike Rockford, has maintained its popularity and can be defined as a 'successful' tourist attraction. Many of the young people described Sandton as being a nice place to live and often referred to the benefits of living in the coastal resort. As one young person commented:

"I love Sandton, I just love the seaside element of it, it's always where I have been so I love it. It is really a lovely place, I like coming here every day. I just love like knowing there is a fair and like if I go away to another place it's so different and when you come back you feel really lucky" (Female 13 Sandton youth-centre interview).

In contrast, when young people were asked about what they thought of Rockford many young people would reminisce back to the 'good old days', when the town was a thriving coastal resort. Young people as young as twelve would often refer to when 'things were better' and how good Rockford used to be:

"The old fair back, I used to love that – everything back that used to be here. They used to have like this railway erm round here – if you go up by the arcades yeah, it used to ride around the front" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The transient nature of Rockford's population was reflected in some of the young people's narratives. For example, many commented that they had moved to Rockford to get away from trouble and to have a better life because their parents held good memories of the place:

"Yeah to like settle down and have a better lifestyle...Because he's [Dad] been here before and he liked the place and he was like this would be a good place and then erm while we were going on holiday here every weekend we just kept trying to look at the schools and then they [school] went a week later erm you can come in so we had to erm quickly move up here then" (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“Cos like my mum come down for about three weeks, two weeks every year in the summer holidays she’s always loved Rockford she usually always comes to Rockford, but for once she come down and she stayed in this like she always stays in this like hotel and she stayed in the hotel and then she said that she saw a house up for sale so she bought it and that’s what made us move down here. She loved Rockford” (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

However, whilst young people were loyal to Rockford and held a strong attachment to it, many felt that the town was often portrayed negatively. They were aware of some of the problems that they thought contributed to this, for example drug use. The negative external image of Rockford was further compounded by people that lived within the area:

“Yeah like I’ve heard parents talking to their kids before like saying that side of Rockford is bad do you know what I mean and we’re meant to be a town it’s not a half town. We shouldn’t be split into West and South. It’s like rivalry it’s horrible because we’re a town you know what I mean like. It feels like there’s a massive borderline straight down the middle its split you know like when it used to be West Germany or East Germany that’s what it feels like here that’s what I can relate it to” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Representations of Rockford in the local media served to perpetuate the image of decline and neglect, as one police officer explained:

“But the overall impression you get of Rockford is of somewhere that is quite run down I think and I think that clouds people’s perceptions. They have redone a lot on the front but the second you go a bit further in it’s like someone has had the front of the teeth done but it’s still rotten behind, I mean there is a lot of work going on to try to regenerate particularly West Rockford. There is a lot of regeneration work going on there I mean millions of pounds being ploughed in, how much of that specifically is tied in towards young people I am not sure, most of it is around housing. I suppose it is all interlinked...I think the general impression of the town isn’t particularly favourable” (Police Inspector interview Rockford).

The uneven economic development in the tourist trade between Sandton and Rockford had many implications for the young people who lived there. Whilst young people were restricted to access and facilities in both localities due to social class as already noted, resonating with Andersen et al’s research (1999) on two deprived places in the North West of England, the young people felt a sense of loss about the decline in their neighbourhood. The young people’s descriptions of Rockford

expressed their experience of living in a neighbourhood shaped by disinvestment (Cahill, 2000). The young people would often discuss how things had been knocked down in their area, and were aware of what was happening around them:

"It used to be good until they knocked down the fair and everything and until they started knocking things down" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Because everything's being knocked down everything good is going" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"It's started going downhill and I think the recession's hit as well like shops haven't been doing too brilliant either so I don't think tourists are coming over anymore cos more shops are shutting down and there's nothing for them... it's like for locals cos we know what's here but tourists wasting their money coming from cities or abroad won't come somewhere like where shops are closing down and hotels aren't up to scratch or anything anymore" (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Resonating with Andersen et al's (1999: 152) research the young people in Rockford had 'grounded and ordinary' expectations where they lived. The majority of the young people wanted things to be repaired, reopened or improved:

"I reckon some of the development that they are doing, should hurry up. Like the [local centre] and the buildings that are run down they should hurry up and be made into proper buildings" (Male 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Maybe even if you just do things with what's already here. I mean the leisure centre's alright but its closed for renovations now which is fair enough cos I wouldn't want to go in there like how it is but erm even if they just did something with what we've already got I mean there's obviously places that are being knocked down now because of certain things happening and stuff maybe if they could knock less things down they could make things better" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The young people wanted basic social amenities to improve the area:

"I think there should be more bins in Rockford. There should be actually erm you know cameras on walls so if they see people littering then they can trace them down and find them then they'll stop doing it" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

A new project, involving the construction of a shopping centre and other amenities in the area, had been publicised. During the fieldwork, many young people would talk about the development; they wanted to see change in their neighbourhood and were excited at the prospect of it opening:

“There's meant to be a [branded high street shop] where the fair used to be. There's meant to be an ice skating rink a swimming pool erm.... more arcades like erhhh and a [high street shop] cos that is moving to [neighbouring town]. Ermmm there's meant to be quite a bit in there like loads of different things in there like a shopping centre and that's like what it should be. There'll be more stuff for us to do then not like in town” (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

However, during the six months of fieldwork, a council meeting was held in the locality informing residents that this would now not happen due to lack of available funds. This again impacted upon the young people, who felt that they had been neglected and re-emphasised the lack of investment in the area. Young people expressed feelings about abandonment and felt that the council did not care about the area:

“I think the council has a big part to play in it as well because they don't personally, this is like a personal opinion, I don't think they care about Rockford as much as other people cos they've got so many council and social houses now there's so much housing that's round here that's up for rent and owned by the council...I think that they're putting all the prisoners and people that are up to no good really around here and that's what's putting the bad name on Rockford I think” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Through the young people's narratives place attachment and identity (Andersen et al., 1999; Green and White, 2007) were highly prevalent in Rockford. Place and identity were powerfully connected (Green and White, 2007) where 'embedded identities' were shaped by place in Rockford (McLaughlin, 1993) which locality was central to this (Hall et al 1999). The neighbourhood, therefore, is a significant place of self-identity for young people, outside of the home and school (Cahill, 2000). Tensions and spatial boundaries (Pickering et al., 2012) created by young people also formed an important part of their everyday lives (Kintrea et al., 2008).

Youth identity, belonging and territoriality

Territoriality – defined as ‘a situation whereby control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others’ (Kintrea et al 2008: 9) – was evident in both case study sites. This was expressed in various ways and to varying levels, ranging from youth association and socialisation in parks in Sandton of the outreach young people, to a more defensive and stronger territorial association in Rockford. In Rockford, it was part of everyday life but not to the criminal and violent extent that Kintrea et al (2008) found in their research.

Whilst the young people in Rockford expressed dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood, they were also particularly defensive of and loyal to the place they lived, similar to Andersen et al’s (1999) findings. There were significant differences between the extent and nature of territorial behaviour that the young people exhibited in Rockford compared to Sandton. Pickering et al (2012) explain that defending geographical locations has often been understood as a coping mechanism for young people living in poorer places. This sense of belonging and defensiveness of place were all key features of what many of the young people expressed in Rockford. Geographical locations in Rockford were seen territorially, and had a long history that had been passed down through the generations (Kintrea et al., 2008), as professionals in Rockford explained:

“I think its erm quite territorial Rockford like most places and people don’t cross the boundaries if that makes sense... it’s very territorial Rockford” (Youth worker Rockford Interview).

“And plus this is more anecdotal rather than if you asked me to give you a specific instance I couldn’t, but it can become quite territorial here, some kids will take ownership of this and that and it’s not then for everyone which creates further divisions within the community... I don’t think it’s quite that divided it’s just certain groups of youth” (Police Officer Rockford Interview).

Young people were aware of this and had an in-depth local knowledge of historically-embedded rivalries:

“There is a West South divide I suppose...it’s just like when I was in [school] which is the Catholic school here you’ve got the Rockford school which is the

other side there's always rivalry between that and there'd be fights in between the schools" (Male 16 Rockford Interview).

The young people had a strong attachment to where they lived, identified closely with the people and the area, and, similar to Anderson et al's (1999: 33) research, the people, the security and the support available compensated for the poor physical infrastructure. The majority of young people from Rockford articulated what Watt and Stenson (1998: 257) have termed 'localism', evident in the way in which they talked about their neighbourhood and their strong community networks. Places where the young people lived in Rockford were sometimes divided because of territoriality, but also unified through strong family and friend networks:

"I suppose everyone knows everyone in Rockford so yeah it's like everyone knows everyone like I go down the street yes I know loads of people but people know me and I don't even know their names you know what I mean that's that how much everyone knows each other everyone's got mutual friends here and stuff like that or even as far as like [next town] and like [next town] everyone knows everyone" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Field notes: When I was talking to a young person about her work experience she said two people in her street have had babies and that one woman Barbara, a woman on her street, has got everything. I said like what? And she said if you run out of sugar you go to Barbara as she has everything and then when you get some you take it back to her.

The concept of people helping each other increased young people's attachment to Rockford, where there was an emphasis on a strong community network:

"It's not as bad as everyone says everyone makes it out to be such a bad place if it was so bad you wouldn't live here... I think Rockford's nice. I would never move out of Rockford. Not now anyway. It's just people that put a bad name on it that's all it is. Or they'll say something like that ain't true to just make Rockford look bad...I don't think it's as bad as everyone says it is. There are a lot of druggies around but they don't do anything they just sit there like on the streets or something or ask me if I've got 20p. It's just people put bad names on places or they make it out to be so bad when it's not it's pointless" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

However, whilst familiar with their surroundings, the young people in Rockford also had strategies, or were 'street literate' as Cahill (2000) suggests, and they became part of their everyday lives:

"Yeah when I'm on myself like when I'm myself I'm always prepared like like if I walk home out of here...I just prepare myself like get ready for everything. Say if someone comes out on me then I'm ready for them. Just be prepared for them" (Male 15 Interview youth-centre Rockford).

"I feel pretty safe because it's just what I'm used to. I'm used to I've always got my eyes open and looking out" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Young people's views of Rockford were often polarised between their dissatisfaction with the decline in the area and the support and strong community cohesion. Most of the young people were proud of where they lived, though some were not, highlighting the ambivalence of young people's lived experiences. The 'deprived areas could be 'hell' for some and wonderful places of mutual support' for others (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004: 451):

"It depends really I don't really come up this end I just stay down that end cos it's quiet or we'll all be on the [estate] like walking around. Everyone makes the [estate] out to be dead bad. I think it's nice. It is nice" (Female 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The young people in Rockford tended to use the streets for socialising, unlike the young people in Sandton. The streets contributed towards shaping the identity of those in Rockford, because of the time spent in their urban environment (Andersen et al., 1999; Percy Smith and Matthews, 2001). As Cahill (2000: 261) suggests, young people 'from less well-off backgrounds, may spend more time on the streets, due to the fact that there are not many establishments where teenagers, especially poor teenagers are welcome' which concurred with the research findings. The following extracts emphasised the importance of the street in their everyday lives (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001):

"Our street is like Eastenders we're all out on the street, the police are at the top of the road some neighbours are at war and all the kids are playing out" (Female 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Yeah erm my sisters usually play on my street I hardly ever do. If I play on my street we usually play down the bottom of my street instead of up the top away from the families and all that" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"The only people who hang around or play in the streets is like me little brother and sister. Cos they play on the streets playing football and stuff. The rest of the streets all quiet it's like little kids on the street that my brother and sister

play with. But they're not allowed out me little brother and sister unless it's on the street" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Territoriality existed as a kind of 'super place attachment' in Rockford (Pickering et al., 2012: 955), resulting from the young people's close identification with their neighbourhood. The territorial behaviour played out in Rockford conformed to previous generational behavior and impacted upon the everyday lives of the young people, positively through familiarity and strong family and friend networks, and negatively on occasions through conflict with other young people and restriction of mobility in public space. The youth centre in Rockford was also located in the main part of the town and the majority of the young people who attended lived close by and the centre was part of their local environment:

"They say this end, where the youth centre is based, is the worse part though and the further you go out the worse it is. But they say this is the worst end but I'm always here cos a couple of my friends live this side and a few of them live on the other side ... I do agree though it's probably the most poverty here but even on the other side you've got people pretending to be they're all it and being all that the rich kids on the other side of Rockford. But I suppose yeah if you are on the other side you'll probably better more well off. They see this as like the poor village" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Whilst some young people in Rockford felt threatened and unsafe in certain places because of conflict with other young people, it was not to the same extent as in Sandton, due to their familiarity with the area:

"It's quite rough there compared to here [different estate]. But if you're bought up there you know everyone and it's not rough" (Female One 13 and Female Two 14 Rockford Outreach-based).

This strong sense of belonging was not evident in Sandton perhaps because of the distance between where the young people lived and the youth centre and also because of class-based tensions. First, the youth centre in Sandton was located in the town centre, while many of the young people who attended were from the suburban part of Sandton. Lieberg (1995) suggests that when young people have divided lives where home, school and leisure are spent in different places, then they may have less familiarity and knowledge of the area. Personal familiarity and 'knowing people' can

facilitate feelings of safety and movement across the ‘invisible borders of youth territory’ (Watt and Stenson, 1998: 249-250), which the young people demonstrated in Rockford, but not in Sandton.

The style and dress of young people were used as markers to define boundaries and to create identities (McLaughlin 1993) in Sandton. Young people in Sandton would recognise certain groups by the clothes that they wore, and the way young people expressed themselves through dress acted as a symbol that was loaded with meaning (Lieberg 1995). Interestingly, only in Sandton, where the latest trends and fashions important to the young people, did style of dress hold such significance. The young people who attended the youth centre would define themselves as ‘emos’ or ‘moshers’ who would wear the following:

“Skinny jeans, big hair, black eyes...the jeans like halfway down their bum their knickers or their boxers showing” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

If a young person was neither an ‘emo’ nor a ‘mosher’ then they were described as a ‘chav’ . These young people were described as:

“It like comes back to that stereotype and again it’s like all people in trackies and stuff, so you see the chavs and I know quite a few of them, and they are all in court all the time for robbing stuff, they all like smoke weed and stuff and shout abuse at you” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The ways in which the youth centre-based young people distanced themselves from working class young people in the town centre reflected the ‘us’ and ‘them’ culture. The majority of these perceived that it was ‘them’ the ‘chavs’ who caused trouble and should be the target of the police not them. Participants described young working class people as ‘chavs’ based on their appearance and reputation. The youth centre – based young people in Sandton conceptualised these other young people to be feared and blamed these ‘chavs’ for threatening their personal safety, as illustrated in Chapter Eight. These young working class males and females were said to have taken over certain parts of the town, and were blamed for any trouble that was caused. The conflict between the two groups was very much based on class tensions:

“A lot of them are from around here but then there are others that come in from around. There is a big thing between the chavs from [one place] and the chavs from Sandton, and like the [other place] lot will come down and they will all be arguing and fighting, between them. And it’s not just chav versus chav it’s like last summer there was a big gang of them came down from [place] and they all came to the skate park and they were like robbing everyone at the skate park you know all the moshers and stuff. It’s a big rivalry thing” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The young people from the youth organization in Sandton conceptualized ‘other’ young people as to be ‘feared’ which had implications for their perceived safety in public space – discussed in Chapter Eight. Conversely, in Rockford, the young people’s sense of familiarity and strong attachment to place were emphasised in their narratives where belonging and only tensions related to territoriality prevailed.

Conclusion

The research findings presented here have revealed the convergences and divergences between young people’s lived experiences in two different coastal resorts. The disparity in leisure and recreational activities between the two constituencies of young people revealed their different socio-economic status (class). The impact of this led to more young people in Rockford spending their leisure time in public space and pursuing activities that did not cost any money which demonstrated that ‘class dimensions [were] rooted in the structure of opportunities’ (Cahill, 2000: 260).

The personal familiarity, strong identification and pride that the majority of young people had with their environment in Rockford illustrated elements of localism and of a strong working class culture (Andersen et al., 1999; Munck, 1999; Watt and Stenson, 1998). Class differences were also revealed through the spatial boundaries that young people constructed in both localities. Conflicts between groups of young people in Sandton were class-based, something which was not as prevalent in Rockford. Populist discourses about ‘anti-social’ and ‘disorderly’ youth reflected ‘middle class fears’ (Pearson, 1983: 64; Valentine, 2004) that were prevalent in the young people’s narratives in Sandton. The ‘othering’ (Skeggs, 2005) of the working

class by middle class 'ideals' (Lawler, 2005) was represented by the derogatory term 'chav' used by young people in Sandton.

The findings from this research confirm that social class and geographic characteristics all impact and affect young people's everyday experiences. This chapter has illustrated that socio-economic differences between young people 'profoundly structure their material experiences' (Pain, 2006: 225). In departing from Denzin's (1991) view that the traditional concept of social class is no longer relevant, the chapter has highlighted that place and class are central to young people's experiences (Kintrea et al., 2008; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; MacDonald et al., 2005).

Young people's attachment to place, as demonstrated in varying degrees in both case study sites, illustrated that place and identity were powerfully connected (Andersen et al., 1999; Green and White, 2007). The following data chapters continue to demonstrate that class, socio-economic and demographic characteristics all impact and affect young people's perceptions and experiences of crime, policing, safety and security. Where young people live, who else lives there and what is provided all impact upon how young people perceive and understand things that go on around them.

The research findings provided evidence to suggest that place matters, and that differences in young people's attachment to place impacts upon their mobility, access to facilities and safety in their own neighbourhoods. Following MacDonald et al., (2005: 880), the young people in Rockford exhibited 'largely unquestioned acceptance of the normalcy of their experiences of growing up in poor neighbourhoods, their familiarity with the place, and their inclusion in strong, supportive family and social networks [which] meant that most saw no reason to leave'.

The next chapter illustrates that conflict does not only occur between groups of young people, it also plays out between the police and young people in public space, and also between other adults and young people (Hendry et al., 2002; Valentine 1997). This reiterates the question raised in Chapter Three concerning who 'owns'

the streets, and illustrates the continual struggle over to whom and what belongs in public space (Iveson, 2007; Mitchell, 2003). The disparities between young people who are policed in a prosperous and affluent tourist location are contrasted with those similarly governed in a place of decline and neglect.

Chapter Seven: The policing of young people in coastal resorts

Introduction

This chapter, the second of three data analysis chapters, focuses on young people's perceptions and experiences of policing in each case study site. As outlined in Chapter Three, the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) transformed a number of incivilities into criminal offences. Within this context youthful behaviour was especially (re)conceptualised as 'problematic' and more punitive sanctions became available to the police (Hancock and Matthews, 2001: 103). A 'climate of intolerance' (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 391) towards young people (re)evolved where their very presence in public space began to be constructed as 'anti-social behaviour' (MacKenzie et al., 2010; Burney, 2005; Squires, 2008; Crawford and Lister, 2007; Waiton, 2008; Crawford, 2009) and sharpened tensions between young people and the police (see MacDonald and Marsh, 2005; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2007; Sutton et al., 2007; Hall et al., 1999; Malone, 2002; Loader, 1996). As Burney (2002: 73) suggests, young people hanging around on the streets have become 'the universal symbol of disorder and, increasingly, menace'.

When examining young people's experiences of policing in each case study site 'place', was key (MacDonald et al., 2005; MacDonald and Marsh, 2005) alongside social class (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Nayak, 2006; McCulloch et al., 2006; Hollingworth and Williams, 2009). Furthermore whilst 'place' remained an influential factor, youth (age) became a key determinant of the ways in which young people were policed (especially in Sandton). Young people's presence in the town centre of Sandton invoked regulation and control that was distinctive and quite different to practices in Rockford. The research findings revealed that more positive conceptualisations of the police were held by young people in the deprived coastal resort of Rockford, than in the more affluent Sandton. Despite this, subtleties and internal contradictions were evident within the young people's narratives in each

case study site. Without examining the finer nuances the significance of young people's experiences and perceptions of policing cannot be fully realised. By doing so the differences experienced by the young people within and between each case study site are revealed, suggesting that contrary to much academic literature (see for example McAra and McVie, 2005; Loader, 1996) middle class young people in Sandton experienced more antagonistic and negative relations with the police when compared to their young working class counterparts in Rockford.

Similarities between the young people's views are discussed before the main body of the chapter explores how their perceptions and experiences of policing differ in each case study site. Engagement and communication between the police and young people are considered, the levels of trust and confidence young people had in the police. Finally young people's conceptualisations of anti-social behaviour (ASB) are explored that reveal further differences between Sandton and Rockford.

Police - youth relations: encounters, experiences and interventions

Policing the 'usual suspects'?

Research suggests that young people often come to the attention of the police based on their families and relations (McAra and McVie, 2005). This is generally supported by the data from young people in each case study site. Young people felt that they were judged based on their families' reputation and behaviour rather than their own and this appeared to apply equally to girls and boys:

"Well err my brother was arrested and he's in prison now and cos of that I get treated differently. Yeah all the time they look at me different and always come up to me and ask me what I'm doing. I used to go to a youth centre but got chucked out cos of that it's well not fair. They just think I'm like him (brother) and I'm gonna cause trouble. It's well unfair" (Female 14 Sandton Outreach-based).

The assumption that the young person would ‘follow in the footsteps’ of a family member was reiterated by young people Rockford. For example:

“Well with me cos they know my brother they always like talk to me...and [police officer] was like oh yeah you’re just like your brother you are. Like basically trying to make me out to be like me brother but I’m nothing like him. They try and compare me to my brother. It’s like I’m guilty by association” (Female 14 Rockford Outreach-based).

Young people in both case study sites also felt they were unfairly ‘targeted’ by the police based on their appearance and age (see also Quinton et al 2000 and Crawford 2009). Young people described being young and wearing a hoodie as reasons why the police would approach them:

“If you look young and you’re wearing like a hoodie or whatever they come up to yeh and they’d be like what are you doing when are you going home where do you live and all this and they’d take your details and stuff. Just for hanging out” (Female 17 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

This was also reported in Rockford:

“Well up here yeh you can just walk out your house and get arrested. Because they’re just...up here yeh the police yeh they just think that if like one time I walked out my house with a hoodie on yeh walked round the corner cos it was dark as well walked round the corner and the cops pulled me. I was like hang on what you doing this for I’m just going the shops” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

As such, policing based on family reputation, appearance and age was a commonality found between the young people in each of the case study sites.

Policing young people in public space

In both localities Dispersal Orders²³ were in place. That said, young people in a focus group in Sandton did not know what a Dispersal Order was and displayed shock when they were informed that this applied to groups of two or more being taken home by the police after 9pm:

²³ As discussed in Chapter Three, Part 4 of the (2003) Anti-Social Behaviour Act (section 30-36) gave ‘the police in England and Wales new powers to disperse groups of two or more people from areas where there is believed to be persistent ASB and a problem with groups causing intimidation’ (Crawford and Lister, 2007:5).

"They call a group two people or more. God that's scary considering the fact that like we walk around in groups about 4 at least and then about 26 at the most" (Focus Group Sandton).

Similarly, although the young people in Rockford did not know what the term 'Dispersal Order' meant, they knew that they were not allowed to go near the promenade after a certain time. The dispersal of some young people in public space due to perceived misbehaving was considered unfair:

"It was in the paper and erhh yeah the council said that erm they're not allowed. I know 9 o'clock is quite late but after 9 o'clock or after a certain time now I'm not sure exactly what time but you're not allowed on the prom cos they've got this perception that everyone on there is misbehaving and like erm aren't very good on there but not everyone is so it is kind of unfair to the ones that aren't but that's where most things are to do so it's kind of hard not to go up there which is why I said before like that you need to do things that are away from the prom" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

However being dispersed or 'moved on' by the police was a common encounter between the police and the young people in Sandton:

"More than once a day, we always get moved on by them [police]. We just sit here and then they tell us to move and then we go the park and then we get moved on from there to everywhere we go, we just always get moved on" (Male 14 Sandton Outreach-based).

"There's not really much to do, and kind of everywhere you sit you get told to move...Yeah constantly...whenever they walk past normally... Like this is probably the fifth place we have had to come to in the past year...You just get moved on... you get moved on more times than a tramp" (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

The young people in Sandton also reported that not only did they get 'moved on' from places in the town centre they were also searched often:

"I do a lot... we are always moved on. We're used to be being moved because there is a big field and you can just sit on a bench, and they'll just come over cos I'm sat on the bench, even if it's just two girls, they like come and check your bags and stuff, and say can we just check your bags for bottles of alcohol in them and were just like god. It's not even like were acting drunk or anything were just sat there talking about the day or something. They always come over" (Female 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

Interestingly, despite their awareness of not being permitted to 'hang around' the promenade of an evening the young people in Rockford rarely reported being moved on by the police, and if they did they regarded it as a friendly encounter:

"Like if they tell us to move we'll have a laugh with them and they'll be alright and they'll be like oh alright. I find them alright" (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Conversely, being stopped and searched by the police in Sandton was seen as a negative experience:

"My brother got stopped and searched for drugs in Sandton, obviously didn't have any but they still took his name and address and everything but the police officer didn't give any of his details to him, which they are meant to, they are meant to give their badge number and say which station they work at, but he didn't say anything like that, which they are meant to" (Male 17 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

"These two [police officers] came up to me we were only just sat and it was like, it was still day, and we were sat eating ice cream which wasn't very intimidating to be quite honest, they started asking if we had any drugs, and we said no, why would we, and then they were like proper shouting at us, and we hadn't done anything and they were in a car as well, and I told [the youth worker] because we were going to go to dance afterwards... and [the youth worker] was like did you get their badge number or their licence plate, they are not allowed to talk to you like that, and I didn't know because I wasn't going to go up to the police and say you can't talk to me like that" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

"A lot of the time, this sounds really bad now...you are in a certain place at night they will like stop you and talk to you and make sure and everything and even if they do, they don't search or anything they just speak to you and then, because you are in that certain place at that time they will take all your details down and your description and everything, so then if anything has come up that has happened in that area, at a certain time they know who has been around and where they have all been, and like other times if they catch you with alcohol and stuff they have to give you a stop form, so like a lot of the underage people that will be drinking and stuff there are occasions of giving stop forms and then once you have given your details they type them into the computer and it comes up with everything like your date of birth, and everything and your description" (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In contrast, the young people in Rockford reported quite different experiences:

"Well like we see police but they don't really like ... I don't think they come over cos they don't think were causing trouble...yeah they don't come over to

us and try and move us on or anything” (Male 16 and Female 16 Rockford Outreach-based).

No they just leave us alone they don’t really go in there [skate park]. Cos most kids go in there that’s where we go” (Female 12 Rockford Outreach-based).

Equally, a local police officer perceived that he had a good rapport with most of the young people in Rockford:

“I do, I see them all the time, you know they shout and call out at you in the street, because this is my area my beat area, so I control by beat areas anyway so I see them all the time...The more I see them, the more you pass the time of day with them and you build up a rapport, and it’s easier. I police people how I would want people to police my children, that’s one thing I talk to them that way because it’s too easy to make assumptions isn’t it and go in there and you know...erm. So that’s how I talk to them, some you know you can talk with and you don’t get anywhere, but the majority I think, they would respect you for how you respect them really, that’s what it is all about for me, I mean, but I know some people that would never give me the time of day, the majority would, but generally I think its ok” (Police Officer Rockford Interview).

Young people in Sandton and Rockford had differing perceptions of their relationships with the police and contrasting experiences of styles of policing. Negative encounters between the police and young people in Sandton outweighed positive encounters following Hinds (2007: 206) observation that ‘police legitimacy among young people was significantly lowered by negative assessments of police behaviour during encounters’. Interestingly whilst the young people reported such negative encounters, the Chief Inspector of the police in Sandton regarded the majority of young people as well behaved:

“The vast majority of young people in the town centre are responsible well behaved people who come into the town centre to enjoy themselves and that is what the town centre is all about, because at the end of the day we are a holiday resort. We attract people we spend a lot of money on attracting people we want people to come in ... (Police Interview Sandton).

Paradoxically, however, living in a coastal resort which invested substantial resources into attracting visitors impacted negatively upon the young people who reported an increase in policing when events were on in the town centre:

“Occasionally when we used to go the skate park the police would just come in and do random searches on you, if you had any alcohol or any cigs and you were underage they used to take them off you, just like random ones so you

wouldn't know when they were coming, it was mostly like when there were like events on or like events which had just been on or about to start, when the town was getting a bit busier, like the fireworks and stuff, they were everywhere when the fireworks were on" (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

"They [the police] crack down more and are like bothered, they are more bothered when you have, when there is like main events on and stuff, like [shows] and the fireworks, all stuff like that, and they are more like around then, like everywhere" (Female 17 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In addition, young people in Sandton attracted unwelcome police attention when skateboarding in the town centre. Many young people commented on how they were 'moved on' and stopped by the police while skateboarding. As Travolou (2003) argues, skateboarding is not a criminal activity but often incurs penalisation:

"We are stopped by police for skating all the time. Once we were at the bandstand and the police came over and told us to get off and fined us £30 on the spot fine" (Male 17 Sandton Outreach-based).

"When we're here like today you have to work out when they're going to walk past (the police) every 20 minutes can ride past and then they'll throw us off" (Male 14 Sandton Outreach-based).

"We are stopped and searched everyday, given a stop form, all the time they say because they are cracking down on drug crime...Stopped by police for skating all the time" (Male 14 Sandton Outreach-based).

This was also confirmed in the photographic method (see Figure Six below) in which one young person took a photograph of the town centre as a place that the police control and wrote 'not allowed to skate, vandalise, play football or disturb people on here as it is illegal'. Providing evidence that the police do still control the streets as rigorously as suggested in Chapter Two when Springhall (1986) argued that prosecuting young people for playing football would be unlikely in the present day. Another young person in Sandton took a photograph of a street with the words written 'there are loads of police cameras everywhere'. The association of 'police control' with 'surveillance' is an interesting interpretation made by the young people reflecting the rise of street camera surveillance in the process of urban renewal in the UK (Coleman 2005). Also another young person associated 'police control' with schools where a photograph of a noticeboard at school was taken to represent

‘because police look after schools’. Reflecting the presence of school-based officers as a feature of contemporary schooling since 2002, reflecting the Safer School Partnerships (SSP) initiative introduced by the previous Labour government, discussed in Chapter Three, now totalled at 801 schools involved in the SSPs in 2014 (Puffett 2014a: 1). In contrast, the young people in Rockford took photographs of the police station and a phone box – stating that ‘the police control the community’ (See Figure Seven). Emphasising their positive role in the community:

“I see them walking about cos I think the police do play an important role in the community with the amount of like crime but I don’t think I’ve never been stopped by them I’ve never been arrested or anything like” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

In Rockford the police seemed to be more sympathetic towards to the young people recognising the limited resources of the locality:

“The general thing we find is that they [young people] say we are bored and I can’t argue with that because for a lot of Rockford, particularly disadvantaged areas like west Rockford, there isn’t a great deal...there is a lot of organisations there trying to help. Almost every street has its own little community organisation but again they struggle for funds and again most teenagers say they are bored...” (Police Rockford Interview).

There was also an active Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) existing in the area which some of the young people were aware of and wanted to be part of:

“I want to do YIP how do you get to do YIP? My sisters doing it. No I know the people who do it ... but you can and I want to do it cos it sounds interesting and it won’t get me in trouble in school will it. It’ll help me a lot more in school. Cos school think I need YIP. But you have to be most at risk... I’m not most at risk” (Female 14 Interview Rockford).

Some young people in Rockford were involved with YIP because they had been referred through the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS). One young person talked about her experience of being referred to CAMHS for example:

“When [young person] came in she sat next to me and said she was tired as she had her CAMHS test at the hospital today. They were asking her questions and making her do puzzles etc... She found it hard and said she doesn’t know when she gets the results. As she hasn’t done it before. She said she was going to be referred by CAMHS to YIP because she has ADHD. She was saying how she is labelled ‘a care package kid’ because she is always in trouble and has ADHD”(Field notes in Rockford).

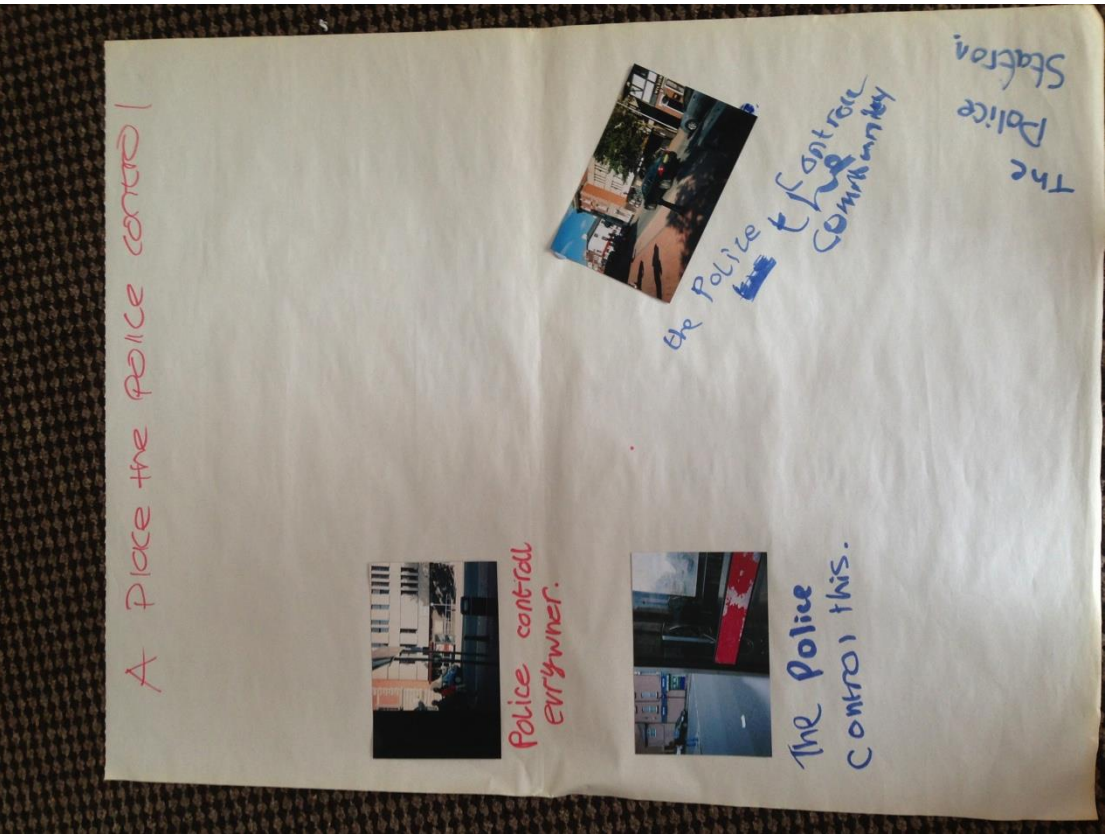
Another young person talked about the YIP and her brother being referred to them through CAMHS and the issue of rewarding bad behaviour:

"They never see the good in what youngster and teenagers do they only see the bad side of things and thats erm shown in the press otherwise it's just all the bad like 98 per cent of the population that it is the really good ones who are always doing good to help others and erm behaving and doing what they're supposed to be doing and following the law and that doesn't get printed and the ones who don't follow the law and are always breaking it they're always being put on teams which are like rewarding bad behaviour... I think most of the time they're rewarding bad behaviour but then again they probably just need a bit of TLC...I don't think anything bad if its medical or anything like that... It's like my brother is just going to start CAMHS and like he he's in it but for medical reasons and although they might have ADHD which is what they think my brothers got I thought at first it would just be rewarding bad behaviour but it's also hard for my mum as well cos she can go and do things and go to her job and stuff like so you've just got to know the whole story really before you make any judgement people are to judgemental...I'm not a fan of rewarding bad behaviour I just don't think they should reward bad behaviour but erm as I said you've got to know the whole story and you've got to know how they came to that point thats the main thing" (Female 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Figure 3 Photographic method in Sandton - 'A place that the police control'



Figure 4 Photographic method in Rockford 'A place that the police control'



Many young people in Rockford felt that the police were just doing their job when frequently patrolling particular areas of Rockford associated with drug problems:

"I do tend to keep away from some areas... I know everywhere and the worst places like [street] at night like cos of drugs everywhere. Police cars on there every day" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Although the majority of young people's views about the police in Rockford were positive, not all young people appreciated their near permanent presence:

"I hate police they're everywhere you go, you just turn around and there's the police driving past you. Yeah I see them drive past here most nights. Well that's because like this part of Rockford is like worse, like the worst part cos like you've got all the druggies flats and stuff round and where all the druggies are" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

In addition young people who had previous experience of the police through criminal convictions reported experiences that differed from the majority of the young people's views in Rockford:

"The police officer was shocked when he seen the t-shirt that I was wearing [volunteer youth centre]. Yeah he was proper shocked. Cos the police officers really thought that I wouldn't have got anywhere in life. They were saying that to me. I seen the other officer on Saturday and he said it won't be long before I see you back in here, you know when I was in the police station for burglary" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Yeah I've been arrested 4 times...that's why they probably gave me a big punishment. Once this is over if I ever get caught in trouble again I get sent back to court. I've been warned that I'd be sent to prison forever" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

On one level similar experiences of being approached by the police in each case study site due to age, appearance and family reputation concurs with the literature on young people and the police (Newburn, 2011; Aye Maung, 1995; Flood-Page et al., 2000). Being young and visible in public space was felt to be a reason why young people were approached by the police particularly if young people had been in contact with the police before and become labelled as a 'usual suspect' (McAra and McVie, 2005). On a different level, however, the young people's narratives reveal how they tended to experience policing differently in each case study site. Similar to Loader's (1996) research, young people in Sandton felt over-policed and

consequently negative encounters made them feel harassed rather than protected by the police. In contrast, the majority of young people in Rockford recounted more positive encounters.

Skogan (2006) observed that negative contact with the police can have up to fourteen times greater impact on young people than positive encounters. Although some positive views were reported by young people in Sandton overall accounts were predominantly negative. Being dispersed, stopped or rebuked by the police increased tensions between the police and the young people in Sandton. Again this echoes the adversarial relationship between young people and the police that Crawford and Lister (2007) and Smithson and Flint (2006) found in their research on dispersal orders. In Rockford, however, counter-intuitively for a working class community, the young people tended to conceptualise the police as a positive presence and this finding departs from much of the literature.

The role of the police in schools

Opinion and attitudes towards the police were also shaped by the roles they played in schools. Whilst the young people in both case study sites discussed the presence of the police in their schools, the way in which the young people in Rockford found this role supportive and helpful further provided explanations for their more positive conceptualisations. A young person in Sandton explained what he thought the role of the police officer in his school was:

“In school we have got our own police officer... like for security and stuff, to make sure any disputes are solved. I think he is employed there, sent by the police, he is there every day...when it comes to anti-bullying week and stuff, like special themes around the school and all” (Male 14 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

This account was confirmed by a learning mentor in a school in Sandton:

“They can quickly become police matters because the parents involve the police. This happened not so long ago ...Most of the time the parents are the worst and make matters worse. There is no talking that goes on and that is the big issue. When I get them in here and leave them alone to talk when I come back more than often they are talking and things are fine. But Facebook takes this element away and then you do not know what the truth is, things get out of control and bullying starts. Often the young people can’t even

remember what was said by whom, and I always say well have you spoke to her about it and they say no” (Learning mentor in a school Sandton Interview).

A learning mentor in another Sandton school perceived the police presence as positive:

“Yes he is based here and he has had a really significant positive affect since he has arrived, very pro-active very positive, done a lot of education, done a lot of assemblies, a lot of PSD [personal social development] lessons going in doing things, a lot of awareness sessions, at key times in the year so maybe things leading up to bonfire night, and mischief night ²⁴he will do a lot of education and awareness work, things on knife crime, awareness, loads of stuff, very positive, very pro-active very good relationships with all the young people in the school. I am not aware of any young person where there is any kind of hostility they have towards him, its very positive, he is very much respected by the young people, very much appreciated by the school staff it seems. He runs one of the football teams as well so he gets involved in a positive way, so we are very lucky to have him” (Learning mentor Sandton Interview).

Whilst there was no data to suggest that young people in Sandton supported this claim, not all young people had negative opinions of the police:

“Police are there to help rather than hinder, so you have to help them to help you” (Male 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

More strikingly in Rockford police in schools were seen as supportive by young people particularly with regard to anti-bullying strategies. Indeed, the young people would ask for the police to be involved of their own accord, not through parental involvement:

“In school I get picked on but that’s getting sorted out now. Well it is sorting out like I had to get the police involved to stop it because the teachers were telling him but they wouldn’t stop it. So I had to get PC [name] in to it you know the school police officer I was dead scared cos like on the Monday I asked the school to phone her to tell her that I want a word with her and on Tuesday she was coming in” (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“Some teachers are like useless to be honest, you go to them and tell them you’ve been hit or something and it’s like ok we’ll deal with it but they actually don’t some teachers like try to deal with it and involve the police and get people in like to actually exclude the people. Some actually do deal with it but some of them don’t they don’t care” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

²⁴ ‘Mischief night’ is associated with young people engaging in pranks on a certain night of the year. The date of which varies from place to place but in Sandton was the night before Bonfire night on the 4th November.

The police also recognised their involvement with bullying issues in schools:

“Most of the schools that I have dealt with they have dealt with issues of bullying and things like that you know the schools are very good. I have had conversations with them saying that the bullying from after school and to and from school and things like that, I have dealt with a few cases like that and it tends to be kids on kids, low level bullying” (Police Officer Rockford Interview).

Interestingly, in Rockford young people would also phone the police themselves when out of school for help in bullying and fighting matters with other young people and the perception of the police officer in this context was of a supportive and protective adult whom the young people could rely upon to help when they were in trouble:

“Yeah like one of my friends was getting picked on and battered and at the time she was like in the middle and everyone was hitting her and like I’m here and she’s like up here and then like one of my friends and I phoned the police and the police came. And she had like two black eyes and a busted lip” (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“Well I’ve had like six well like five experiences with them because erhh people were bullying me and erm bullying my mate so erm we phoned the police and I gave my name out because erm it’s a good thing to do and erm I gave my mate’s name out and then erm then they were like ok then and they were there about ten minutes and they just asked for my details and then erm they said that’s correct and I said should I say what happened like he got strangled and that so I did” (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The extra engagement between the police and some of the young people in Rockford - through acting as supportive figures with bullying issues - led to more positive conceptualisations of the police that were distinctive and not reflected in Sandton. Moreover, this was embedded within peer groups, families and external sources whereby the young people’s first hand personal experiences of contact with the police reinforced their attitudes and views of the police alongside second hand accounts from friends, family and the media.

Good cop bad cop?

Loader (1996) found in his research that stories of good and bad policing influenced the way in which young people would perceive the police. This was supported by the research presented here. For example a young person in Sandton explained his opinion of the police which was influenced by what he had read in the newspaper:

“They’re scumbags. They’re corrupt the police. Have you not seen it on the news and all that? The police and all that getting arrested for robbing off their own and they’re going around and trying to terrorise all the kids. Trying to spend the funding what they get. At the end of the day how are you meant to believe in them, the police, when you hear stuff like that in the news and in the paper and that about the police, like the ones that come round here? How can you trust them?” (Male 17 Sandton Outreach-based).

Another young person claimed that she did not want a career in the police anymore resulting from bad stories she had heard about the police:

“I wanted to be one of them, cos I used to think arhh I want to be a police officer and then I just thought they’re not very nice they’re really not...they’re worse than everyone else aren’t they” (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In contrast two young people in Rockford reported positive opinions about the police:

“Yeah cos they actually help erm they’re part of the erm ...the ...part of the erm town. I was trying to think of a better word” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“I get on and I think that they help you a lot. They help the community I give them that – I used to work with the police” (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Hearing stories about the police combined with young people’s personal experiences influenced perceptions and had a significant impact on their attitudes and, in turn, whether or not they invested trust in the police. Young people have been recognised as being the most reluctant group to report an offence to the police (see Anderson et al., 1990; Payne, 1991; Wood, 2005; Flatley et al., 2010). One reason for young people’s reluctance is thought to be the ‘widespread belief that reporting crime is grassing’ (Loader, 1996:73). The fear of being branded a ‘snitch’ (Clayman and Skinns, 2012: 461) made young people in Sandton unwilling to report a crime to the police for fear of repercussions:

“Probably wouldn’t go to the police because if they found out that you have said anything it would probably get worse” (Female 16 Sandton Interview).

“No I wouldn’t, I’d rather sort it out myself. Last time I got into a fight with loads of 20 year olds so I’d never go to the police. You don’t wanna be telling them stuff it makes it well worse” (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

Young people in Sandton also tended to feel that because they were young the police would not take them seriously and/or believe them:

“You can’t talk to the police. The police don’t believe yeh half the time do they?” (Male 16 Sandton Outreach-based).

“Yeah you just feel like cos you’re so young you don’t feel like they’re taking you seriously enough” (Female 17 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The young people’s negative relationships with the police in Sandton, as previously stated, clearly impacted upon their confidence and trust in the police:

“The only thing I would say about the police around here is there has always been a big division between the police and young people but its more or less because the police don’t want to be respected by young people they want to be feared, because they see it as if they get young people’s respect they won’t be able to speak to them, whereas, but now what’s kind of happened is young people won’t go to the police and report anything. (Male 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In contrast, young people in Rockford were far more inclined to trust the police and to report incidents reflecting their more positive encounters and engagement with the police. A certain caution was apparent, however:

“I’d probably phone them discreetly or anonymously but I wouldn’t at the time. If I seen an accident and the person was still there who had done that crime I wouldn’t get my phone out to the police I’d probably have to walk around the corner and stuff” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“...of what that person might do yeah. Because you see that in the papers as well like I know a couple of years ago like in Rockford someone got smashed in with golf clubs two lads went round a woman’s house because she told them to turn the music down and they smashed her in with golf clubs. Someone next door witnessed the screaming but didn’t actually tell the police until a couple of weeks later because she said in the paper she was scared if they actually went around at night the police cos it was the early hours of the morning they knew it would have been someone close by she was scared of what might have happened to her. So you see that as well in the newspapers. You see like things have happened to like if someone did...like ring up the police after an incident ...say it was like a knife you’d be scared like you don’t know whether you’re

going to get stabbed if you get heard or anything like that (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Indeed, in part reflecting the transient population in Rockford, young people who had recently moved there from a large urban city viewed the police as helpful when compared to their previous experiences:

“They [other young people] think the police don’t really help which they seriously do. If they’ve not been down [where I used to live] like I have. Seriously the police really do help like erm when I got strangled and like thrown against the car it took four days just for the police to just turn up to my house [where used to live]” (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

“Well I think like this cos like in [where used to live] they don’t really do anything like in Wales you always have police going around everywhere to make sure everything’s ok but in [other place] they don’t do nothing like that” (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

A police officer described their project work in Rockford with young people:

“We came up with a project where we would engage with the children a couple of times a week during their summer holidays or their school breaks, and we started off doing little bits of sport sessions, you know football and bowls a bit of golf and so on. Then we decided that we would get the children to do something within the community, so litter picks, gardening, painting pensioner’s fences and so on, so doing a little bit of community work and that was just a one off about 4 years ago in the summer. A lot of the children then said what are we going to do in the winter, so we came up with this idea that we call these kids [name] because predominately all the children involved were from the west end of Rockford. So then we started coming up with bits and bobs of environmental work, got involved with the youth organisation... we then branched out, and started doing some hill walking around [place] and so on, basically it was like a reward for them doing their bits and bobs at community work. I think currently we have got about 34 children signed up with the project...and I have lots of support obviously from my bosses within the police, providing transport and my work time to go and do some of these projects” (Police Officer Interview Rockford).

A young person explained:

“Yeah I worked with the police... I’ve been doing that for like a year”.

Researcher: “Has that changed your opinion of the police?”

“It made it better and changed my opinion. I get on with them pretty well” (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The police project served not only to build relationships with young people but also, potentially to improve the reputation of young people within the wider community:

“But in the paper I think in the local paper youths do get discriminated now with their hoodies and stuff like that... cos the [police project] do like such a good thing for like elderly people they go and do the gardens that they can’t go out and do themselves. I think that puts like a good name for young people like older people now think ohh not all young people are like this... some are actually getting involved with the police and doing this. Then again I’ve not seen much about it in the paper. It’s never been positive stuff about young people in the paper it’s always negative...With it being the police as well I thought if the police had sent an advertisement off it would have been in the paper but still it’s not. It probably has been but it’s been a long time when it’s not been dramatically advertised ... I’ve been looking in the paper before to look at car adverts and I bet they have bigger advertisements than the police” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Ironically, some young people thought that the style of policing in Rockford was too relaxed:

“The young people round here actually walk all over the police... they think they can actually walk all over them they stand there swearing at them I’ve actually walked past them. If you went to the likes of London you wouldn’t dare do that. You would get arrested there and then but here they don’t they just go watch your mouth and stuff (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

This sentiment was not shared by the young people in Sandton who felt that they were always perceived to ‘be doing wrong’ and their accounts of policing echoed findings from Flood-Page et al’s (2000) research that repeated negative encounters serve to reinforce young people’s hostility towards the police:

“To us it feels like well when I was that age just felt insulting because it was like have you nothing better to-do is nobody in trouble or... I just felt stupid and it always made you feel like the bad guy” (Female 17 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

“Yeah it happens quite often it’s not nice its horrible actually especially when you’ve done nothing wrong as it puts a brand on all young people that they’re all on drugs or alcohol” (Male 16 Sandton Outreach-based).

The effect of this antagonistic relationship was mentioned repeatedly by the young people in Sandton who felt unfairly targeted:

“Some can be like nice and stuff and come and have a chat and just ask if you’re drinking and doing anything bad and stuff, but some of them are just like they’ll just jump to the conclusion that cos we’re in a group and we’re teenagers were drinking, so you’ve got to move on” (Female 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

“Two were really rude to us...Erm once they were like what you doing? They say they’ll phone you’re parents. I respect them and everything it’s just because we’re teenagers they kind of think yeah oh they’re going to shoot someone or on drugs...I think they’re more suspicious when everyone’s there and I’m like please let’s just run. Cos everyone’s scared of them cos their scary and they look scary...They’re not nice to yeah it wouldn’t be so bad if they were nice to us” (Focus Group Sandton).

In summary, policing in Sandton was primarily concerned with providing a safe and popular place for wealthy tourists to visit. This was evident when young people talked about being policed more at certain times of the year and through their daily encounters with the police when visible in the town centre. Policing was driven by tourism and consumption and the young people were policed accordingly. Paradoxically, in Rockford – an area beset with multiple ‘social problems’ – police-youth relations were more conciliatory and greater levels of tolerance and appreciative understanding prevailed.

Young people’s conceptualisations of anti-social behaviour

During fieldwork in both localities managing anti-social behaviour (ASB) was a stated priority for the police and the Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs). This was confirmed by the Community Safety Manager in Sandton:

“I don’t want to state the obvious but they are not straight forward [CSPs]...some of them are obvious, aren’t they, anti-social behaviour is a major priority in [local authority]. You tell me an area where it is not” (Community Safety Manager Sandton Interview).

In Rockford, as a police officer explained, anti-social behaviour was not always agreed to be the number priority in the area:

“But our priorities, it will be on our poster downstairs, but ASB will be on there somewhere it’s a bit of a catch all term really, so I don’t always agree with assume any issue with young people is just ASB. I think it’s a bit broader than that really” (Police Officer Rockford Interview).

However, the young people in each case study site had different conceptualisations of what ASB was and who were the perpetrators of it. The young people in Sandton adopted the dominant notion of ASB and related it to the behaviour of working class young people who they called ‘chavs’. The young people were very aware of the term and this was evident in the first month of fieldwork when they were asked to write down what they thought was unsafe teenage behaviour.

Represented on the flip chart below (Figure Five) unsafe teenage behaviour was linked to 'anti-social behaviour' 'ASBO'S' and 'Chavs'.

Figure 5 Flip chart exercise in Sandton about unsafe teenage behaviour



Figure 6 Photographic Method in Sandton 'something that is anti-social'

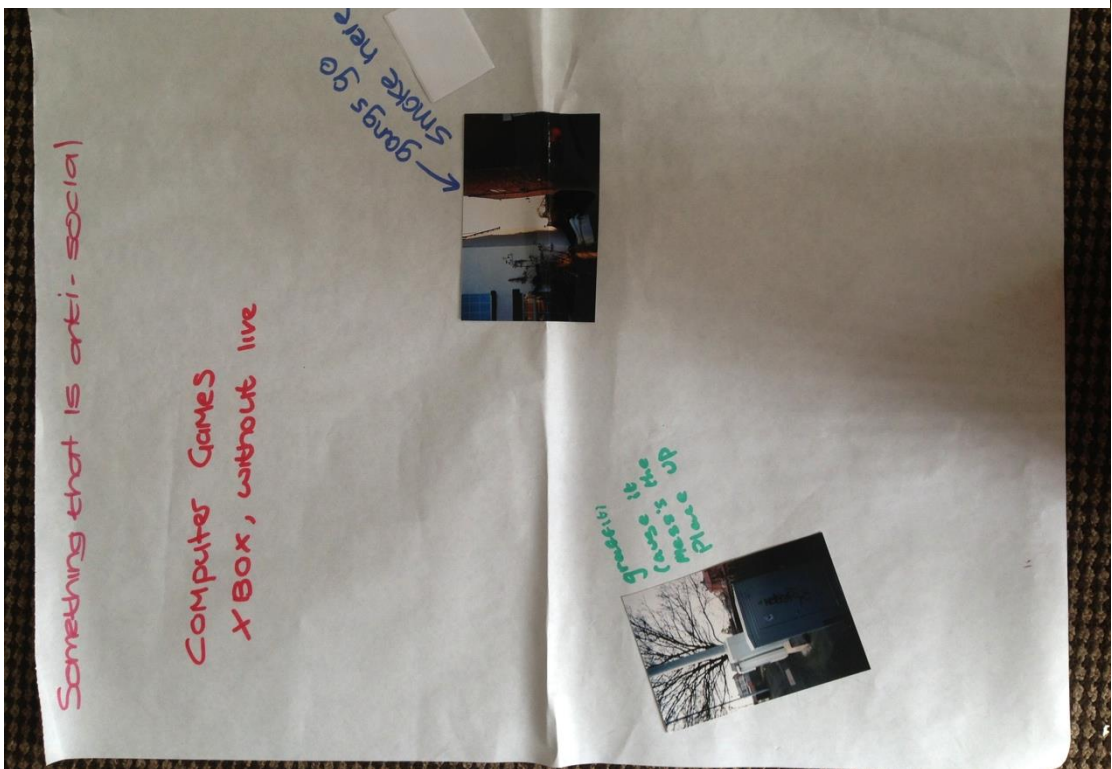


Figure 7 Photographic Method in Rockford 'something that is anti-social'



When the young people were invited in the photographic activity to take a photograph of something that was 'anti-social' they responded with images of graffiti and a photograph of an alleyway commenting that 'gangs go smoke here' (see Figure Six above).

Interestingly, in Rockford the term anti-social behaviour (ASB) did not feature in the vocabulary of young people. Not once in any discussion, or interview did young people use the term ASB or apply it to other young people. This proved tricky, albeit refreshing, with regard to the exercise involving taking a photograph of something that the young people thought was 'anti-social'. This is evidenced in Figure Seven above and the extract below:

Researcher (R): "So the first one is for something that is anti-social, what have you taken for that?"

Young Person (YP): "Anti what?"

R: "Anti-social. Did you take one for that?"

YP: "What like what's important?"

(R): "Erm it could be. Did you take a picture?"

(YP) "Something that is important...I don't know like... I don't know what it means...I took one wrong then here because I took a picture cos you know when I was there I took a picture of the [fair ride]"

Sometime after the photographic activity a youth worker informed the young people what ASB meant because of a report in the local newspaper (discussed in Chapter Six). This prompted many young people in the following weeks to deliberately knock balls off the pool table to then ask 'is that anti-social?' The differences between the case study sites illustrated that generalisations cannot be made about 'deprived areas' and 'anti-social behaviour'. It also raised questions about why young people were not labelled as anti-social in Rockford, as they were in Sandton. One explanation appeared to be that in Rockford greater levels of tolerance were shown to young people by residents and the police which contradicted with intolerance towards young people and ASB in Sandton:

"The real issue the town has is that here 24 per cent of the population are over 55 years old. My neighbourhood, which is really just the town centre, has about 12,500 people living there... and it's more of a tolerance issue. For some reason older groups of people have very little tolerance towards the behaviour of young people and they see young people gathering in groups and that to

them is anti-social behaviour and its reinforced by the way the government talks about anti-social behaviour, its reinforced by some literature which is put out there and the papers and media that go on about youths, gangs of youths, gangs on street corners, causing anti-social behaviour. And that low level of tolerance has probably been evident in Sandton a long time because the community, because they are older, they have got more money, they are aware of the system, they have a less tolerant view, they can be a bit more selfish and have a slightly less tolerant view, and that translates into young people probably being wrongly, well almost certainly being wrongly stigmatised, for behaviour which is not theirs” (Police Interview Sandton 2011).

Or, as a young person put it:

“Because some of them can be quite horrible to yeah and that and it’s like you know we are only young people and they treat you like you are the worst criminal ever and all you are doing is sat on the park, I know it’s like not illegal what you are doing but that’s the thing” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In contrast, as one police officer explained in Rockford, ASB related to young people was low on the list of resident’s priorities. Reflecting localised responses to problems in a particular community discussed in Chapter Three, which cannot always fall in line with central government agendas:

“Dangerous driving, anti-social behaviour, drug dealings surprisingly low, and that astounds me because that is one of our major issues, drugs, but people don’t care that much about it. Other issues highlighted dog fouling...young people hanging around not that many...dog fouling comes higher than young people...”(Police Officer Rockford Interview).

More significantly greater tolerance appeared to characterise policing practice:

“Do you know [police officer]? He is constantly out and about he is a police support community officer and he is constantly on the streets engaging with the kids and so he comes across them all the time, so they see [police officer], he is well, well known in Rockford. They are policed but to what degree are they policed? You know, they would be policed by just having a conversation with us. It doesn’t always have to be always on your way and searched and frog marched down the road. It’s common sense policing now and hopefully we will continue to do that” (Police Officer Interview Rockford).

In summary, whilst anti-social behaviour remained a priority on the CSP and Police’s agenda in both coastal resorts, the ways in which young people conceptualised ASB was extremely interestingly and varying. The young people in Sandton used the term frequently and referred to working class young people or ‘Chavs’ as the perpetrators,

reflecting how the populist discourse had filtered down to them, as explored in the next chapter. However, in Rockford the young people did not know what was meant by ASB and had not been aware of this term before. The tolerance shown by the police officers in Rockford was another aspect that increased relations between the young people and the police.

Conclusion

The chapter has illustrated that young people's experiences and perceptions about policing varied considerably between the case study sites. Antagonistic relations between young people and the police were evident in Sandton and were reflected in the young people's accounts of over-policing and regulation in the town centre. Echoing the work of Anderson et al (1990) and McAra and McVie, (2005), young people in Sandton were regularly 'moved on' 'searched' or 'told off'. The policing of young people in Sandton reflected elite interests, to satisfy the needs of potential investors and to create 'safe aesthetically pleasing spaces' when attracting visitors to the coastal resort (Raco, 2003: 1870). The research findings resonate with the work of Girling et al (2000) who found that young people were policed in a way that prioritised the elderly residents emotional and financial attachment to the area.

In contrast to Sandton, the young people in Rockford received different forms of policing. The police in Rockford were regarded as playing a positive role by many young people and were perceived as protective and supportive. The difference in youth-police relations can be attributed to the varying levels of interaction and engagement with the police via schools and projects that existed in Rockford which had a significant impact upon young people's attitudes towards the police. The research reveals the manner in which interaction and engagement between the police and young people influence relations in ways that can have long term implications (Cleghorn et al., 2011; Clayman and Skinns, 2012).

The research findings suggest that the notion of tolerance (Hancock and Matthews, 2001) was important in determining which behaviours were deemed acceptable in each locality. 'Social connectedness' and 'familiarity' - see Bannister and Kearns (2013) - are important factors in contributing to more tolerant neighbourhoods. Much research suggests that young working class (males) with an active street life are more likely to experience adversarial contact with the police (Newburn, 2011; Aye Maung, 1995; Flood-Page et al., 2000; Ellison, 2001; Anderson et al., 1990; McVeigh, 1994). The research findings presented here, however, reveal that the majority of young people in Rockford encountered policing practices that were more engaging and positive than those experienced by young people in Sandton. The research has demonstrated that Sandton was a highly policed consumption space, and regardless of social class, young people were excluded from and regulated in public space in order to make it 'safer' for the consumer (see Alder, 1990; Coleman, 2004). Youth (age) and place, therefore, became key determinants of public governance.

Chapter 8: Young people, safety, security and harm

Introduction

UNICEF (2011) highlights how children have the right to be heard:

“It is not possible to claim rights without a voice. Children who are silenced cannot challenge violence and abuse perpetrated against them...and the right to be heard applies to every aspect of a child’s life – at home, in school, in healthcare, in play and leisure, in the media, in the courts, in local communities, and in local and national policy-making, as well as at the international level” (UNICEF 2011: vi).

By listening to children and young people this chapter explores their perceptions and experiences of safety, security and harm in each case study site and further examines the impact that this has on their everyday lives. The young people’s perceptions of ‘risk’ reflected populist discourses concerning the ‘anti-social youth’ in Sandton, and ‘stranger danger’ in Rockford, both signalled earlier and examined in more detail here. ‘Fearful others’ compromised young people’s sense of safety and security and consideration is given to the places that young people in each locality deemed to be safe or unsafe and how this reflects the impact of place upon perceptions and experiences of safety. While there is some recognition that young people are more likely to be victims of crime and harassment than people in any other age group (Anderson et al., 1990; Aye-Maung, 1995; Brown, 1995; Hartless et al., 1995; Morgan and Zedner, 1992; Mori, 2001) the conceptual emphasis remains fixed to young people as ‘offender’ rather than ‘victims’. Young people’s narratives are discussed in order to demonstrate how ‘place’, ‘class’ and ‘youth’ intersect as key determinants of young people’s perceptions and experiences of security and insecurity. The influence of socio-economic factors and the quality of social relations in each locality are also considered in the process of understanding what informs young people’s perceptions of risk (Bannister and Kearns, 2013).

Fearful 'others'

The 'anti-social youth' in Sandton

Parts of Sandton town centre were perceived to be 'owned' or 'possessed' by certain groups of young people, whom the youth centre-based young people would class as 'others' and 'outsiders'. The young people in Sandton were scared about the threat of these 'other' young people reflecting 'middle class fears about dangerous or underserving youth' (Pearson, 1983: 64; Valentine, 2004). The youth-centre based young people articulated a populist discourse about young people being 'disorderly', 'to be feared' and 'anti-social'. They feared being shouted at, attacked, and beaten up by other young people. The findings from this research concur with Deakin's (2006) assertion that young people are more likely to be the victims of harassment, assault or verbal abuse by other young people. This was regularly talked about in Sandton:

"I've had things shouted at me, been spat at a couple of times... there used to be a massive group like chavs and they used to get this little kid who, I still see him walking around, and they used to push him and tell him to hit people and he used to come up to you and proper punch you and then he would be like laughing, he would only be like 7, and he would be eating things and then he would spit what he had eaten, like half eaten on people and that it was gross...there were loads of them and there was like 17 lads and like 3 or 4 girls all dressed in like trackies and hoodies and stuff and the girls were in tiny skirts and I was like I am going to avoid you and then they start running after you and chasing you and like spitting at you and shouting and stuff" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

As already noted in Chapter Seven, the young people in Sandton had less confidence in the police than those in Rockford. Consequently, the young people in Sandton were generally reluctant to report to the police and their victimisation essentially remained hidden. A circular motion was apparent whereby they felt that the police did not understand their situation which then fed back into their reluctance to report. The research findings presented here corroborate the work of others (see Anderson et al., 1990; Loader, 1996):

"Because most of the time it is young people that are a victim of other young people's attacks and they [police] don't really focus on that" (Male 14 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The young people from Sandton youth centre would blame 'others' if any problems or trouble in the area occurred. These 'others' were 'problematic' young people who were regarded as 'outsiders' and were the reason that all young people were perceived negatively and got a bad name. One young person described this group as:

"The people who go around threatening, there is loads of nice people but then there is like quite a lot of mean people who are like, lots of them don't realise that they are mean but they are they just intimidate you" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

These 'problematic' young people were often categorised as 'chavs' or 'gangs', and were seen as the reason for the young people's perceived lack of safety in the town centre:

"Gangs and hoodies, they're scary because of their image. They have always got those dogs too, staffies walking around with them that scare me" (Female 14 Sandton Outreach-based).

"I think chavs are the worst for giving abuse out like when they are all stood in a group all together and I think they are the ones who try and cause fights, they are more gobby... chavs, I don't know, a lot of the time, they are just intimidating and they shout stuff when you walk past and that" (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The term 'chav' often overlaps with the characteristics of an 'anti-social person' (see Bawdon, 2009; Martin, 2009 and Nayak, 2003). The derogatory term used by the youth centre-based young people towards the working class young people in Sandton was evidence of the ways in which the young people separated themselves away from the 'others'. As already noted in Chapter Six, the 'othering' (Skeggs 2005) of the working class by middle class 'ideals' (Lawler, 2005) using the term 'Chav' has been suggested as being a new form of classism (Hayward and Yar, 2006).

"Othering enables the middle classes to focus on aspects of their identities which they wish to hold up as defining their groups' characteristics (e.g. middle

class taste, intelligence, refinement), while denying these characteristic to the working class other” (Holt and Griffin, 2005: 248).

The young people in Sandton who attended the youth organisation claimed that they were the subject of regular harassment from ‘gangs’ of other young people who they feared would physically assault them. Young people in Sandton reported feeling most vulnerable when they walking alone in public space and coming into contact with ‘gangs’ or groups of ‘other’ young people. This was reiterated when young people were asked about what worried them the most:

“I think its gangs in Sandton, you know like gangs being violent” (Male 16 Sandton Outreach-based)

“Like bullies really, I don’t know because of loads of chavs and stuff. Sometimes they would all shout stuff at me, because of my hair...just when chavs are shouting at me, I think” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

“I get really intimidated by big gangs – I always cross over the street” (Female 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

When some young people did see groups of young people this made them feel uncomfortable:

“Sometimes walking through town and you see big groups of people you do feel uncomfortable when you are on your own and you walk a bit faster and stuff, there are quite a few different groups in town like that will hang around outside the main bit of town and [fast food outlet] by there and they can be quite intimidating when you are walking past on your own and you are not with anyone else. There are still times when I walk past the shop and I think I will just put my head down put my headphones in and quickly walk past them” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

“I just put my hood up and my earphones in and... that’s why we always like move because like, this sounds stereotypical as well, but all like young people drinking and everything, so wherever you go there is going to be some people drinking but like you might have heard of it but when we use to hang around at the skate park loads of things kept happening like, erm I don’t want to say chavs because its dead stereotypical but like, but people like that came and set the ramps on fire and robbing peoples bikes and robbing their stuff and that” (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

In Rockford, young people hardly ever applied labels to other young people, when compared to Sandton. The consumption of the latest trends and styles was not something that the young people in Rockford participated in, due to expense. It was not unusual to see many young people in the youth organisation in their school uniforms or pyjamas. However, due to territoriality as detailed in Chapter Six, Many young people in Rockford felt unable to attend the youth centre due to rivalry between young people:

“There will be some people scared to come here because of who else comes here I do find that a lot...yeah you always get that especially here. It’s because it depends on people who have got a reputation and also because they’ve probably been bullied by someone in there that’s the most likely thing. I mean I know people who won’t come here because they get bullied they’ve been bullied by certain people even a few years ago and it’s probably blown over by now but they’re still afraid of them and they’re probably twice the size of them now and that shouldn’t be a problem but it’s just that and then you’ve got people who are less confident and erm they just want to stay away and avoid it so” (Female 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Some young people on Outreach explained why they did not go to the youth organisation:

Researcher: “So why do you come here [skate park] and not the youth centre?”:

Young male 1: “Because we’d rather come here [skate park]”

Young male 2: “Because of the people”.

Young male 4: “Yeah that’s probably like where all the drug dealers go”.

Young male 1: “Because we get picked on. All the chavs go to that youth club”

Young male 5: “There’s a lot of chav’s go though isn’t there to be fair, to be fair”

Young male 3: “Does [young person] still go there? I don’t want to go if she goes there” (Five Males 15 Rockford Outreach-based).

These divisions and spatial boundaries were evident in Rockford, however they were not class-based like in Sandton. Instead they reflected territorial behaviour as part of their super place attachment to Rockford.

In Sandton, one young person discussed the group divisions:

"I think it's the divide in young people because of what people class as different groups like chavs and emos and moshers and stuff. It's like if a group of chavs saw a mosh walking down the road it would be like shouting abuse at them just because they are seen as different people to them...and like also the moshers would say chavs and stuff its very like that" (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The above description highlighted how the 'labelling' process worked in Sandton. This became an everyday occurrence for the young people there. It caused tensions and was not a positive experience:

"It is hard, it's a big thing ...like because you can't be in the middle you have to be either a 'mosh' or a 'emo' or a 'chav' and there is some massive conflict between them. It's just like you can't walk down the street, and say you're in a group of people that is one side and if you are in a group of people that is the other, then they are automatically glaring at each other. I don't mean this in like a biased way but usually the moshery people are just walking past and then the chavs like keeping up their image being like oh I'm gonna go and bang yeh going to hit you and push you and stuff and spit at you and you just think go away you wouldn't do that to anyone else, and the fact that I am small as well the girls go look you're a midget' and I am just thinking shut up" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

Rivalries between groups of young people in both case study sites were not sex specific with both female and male interviewees reporting incidences of conflict. In Sandton, the majority of the young people aware of tension and rivalry between groups were aged between 13 to 17 years old, whereas in Rockford this tended to span a wider range, from about 10 to 18 years old. The young people in each locality created complex and tight boundaries, and this would often result in conflicts between the groups as well as restricting the young people's mobility. These 'tyrannical spaces' were defined as no-go areas and areas of danger and threat, which Percy-Smith and Matthews (2001: 50) have called 'neighbourhood bullying'. Many young people felt unable to cross certain boundaries associated with other groups of young people. Young people were, therefore, excluded from spaces if they were unable to afford access, and also due to the 'hostility' from other groups of young people who wanted to control certain local areas (Travlou, 2003: 9). Sports facilities,

skate parks, parks and youth centres were all examples of places which certain young people would go or not go due to the crossing of 'invisible territorial markers' (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004: 450). In Sandton, many young people who attended the youth centre would not go to the skate park or other parks in the area:

"I wouldn't even go to take my little brother, I wouldn't just go there" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

"I don't think that I would go on one of the parks in my area, just because I know that not gangs but groups of lads that are like people that are older than me and they still go and get drunk on there and stuff and a lot of them, especially the girls, want to start fighting when they have had a drink and that and I am not like that I don't like confrontation at all" (Female 16 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

The notion of young people drinking was a common recurring theme in Sandton. Some of the young people, when not at the youth organisation, would drink alcohol with friends. The perceived risks of this behaviour and threats to their personal safety when drunk was an issue brought up in an educational session at the youth organisation in Sandton entitled 'Unsafe Behaviour'. A learning mentor at a local school also voiced her concern about young people drinking alcohol in Sandton, reminiscent of the Police's concerns in Chapter Seven:

"Drinking is by far the biggest problem...more than ever the biggest problem is with drinking and they [young people] are more open about it than ever before. One girl I know said she had drunk half a bottle of vodka the night before and she was in school the next morning with no hangover. Their bodies are getting used to it and it scares me" (Learning Mentor Sandton Interview).

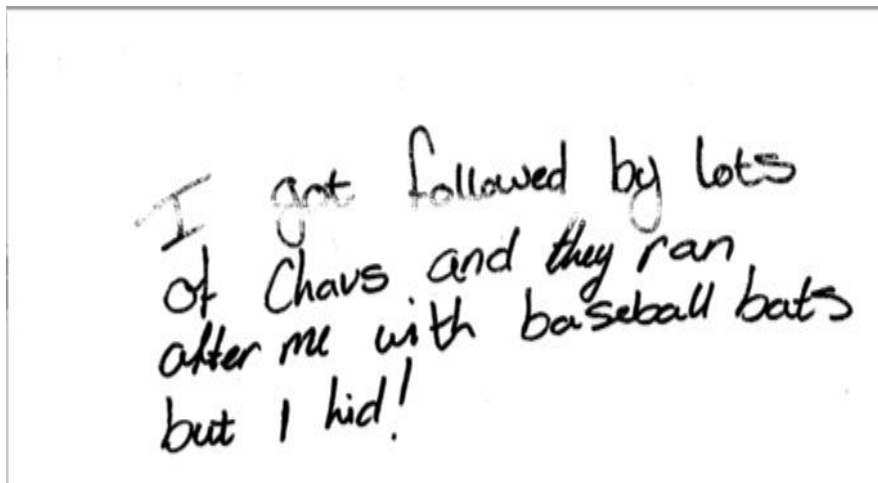
Though some young people in Rockford did drink alcohol, it was not as prominent as in Sandton. Underage drinking Valentine (1997) suggests may often be seen as a resistance to adult power. It posed risks to the young person's own health and safety. Crossing boundaries also proved to be dangerous In Sandton. One young person described being verbally attacked by a group of young people outside a popular food outlet in Sandton:

"I wasn't even dressed my usual way, I wasn't even wearing my bag that day, just what I usually wear and I don't see what was wrong. I think, no, they didn't

even know us I have never seen any of them before in my life, they just come up to us and spit at us and stuff" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

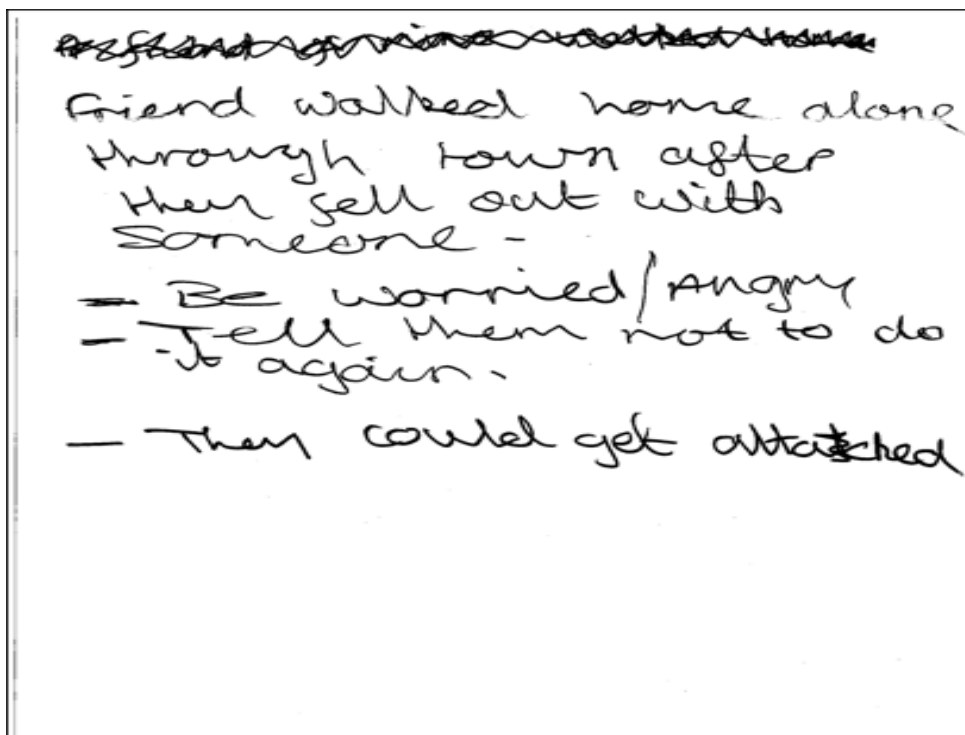
During a session at the youth centre in Sandton, young people were invited to write on individual pieces of paper what they perceived to be a dangerous situation. Figures eight and nine illustrate that being attacked by this group was a dominant issue.

Figure 8 A dangerous situation by a 15 year old male in Sandton.



I got followed by lots
of Chavs and they ran
after me with baseball bats
but I hid!

Figure 9 A dangerous situation by a 16 year old female in Sandton



~~My friend was walking home~~
Friend walked home alone
through town after
they fell out with
someone -
- Be worried/angry
- Tell them not to do
it again.
- They could get attacked

The fearful 'stranger' in Rockford

In contrast, the young people in Rockford were not so fearful of other groups of young people in their area, stating that they often knew everyone. This recognises what other researchers have identified as acquiring personal familiarity and knowledge of people within the area (Watt and Stenson, 2000). In Rockford it was adult 'strangers' who were perceived as the group to be most concerned about, particularly with regard to being 'snatched' or 'hurt':

"I worry about getting picked up or being hurt" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"...but in the dark I get really scared in case anyone takes me" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The fear of being raped by this 'stranger' was a recurrent theme by young females in Rockford:

"I worry about getting raped on the rail. Like going home" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Raped because you don't know whose around these days" (Female 12 Rockford Mapping Exercise).

Whilst the majority of young people held a strong attachment to Rockford they also recognised some of the problems there particularly with regard to adult drug-users:

"It's not as bad as everyone says everyone makes it out to be such a bad place if it was so bad you wouldn't live here...but ...cos there's druggies everywhere...but it's just the fact there is druggies in Rockford that's what I don't like about Rockford" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

One young person suggested that a wall should confine the drugs area in Rockford:

"A wall around the drugs areas. A wall yeah. Put a wall around them" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

In relation to the problem of drug use, the issue of housing was frequently commented upon by the young people it impacted upon their use of space and it also defined aspects of their fear of adults. Reasons for this included the types of housing,

and the large number of single people living in bed-sits and in Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs) in the area:

“There is a lot of young men within this area and it’s quite an isolated existence... there’s also a lot of the over-40s single men with dependency on drugs or alcohol too” (Regeneration Project Leader in Rockford).

Indeed, as stated earlier, the decline of the seaside tourist industry had left Rockford with a housing legacy of large three to five storey houses which had, over the past 30 years, been converted into HMOs. Many of these buildings were now in poor condition, offering cheap rents and inevitably accommodating some of the most vulnerable members of society. Notwithstanding their vulnerabilities, however, they also comprised a threatening, fearful presence for young people:

“More and more residents who have been here quite a while move away, its people that are committing crimes and stuff and being released from prison and stuff that are coming here. So cos they are pushing the old residents out that are employed there’s nothing again, they’re pushing the employed out that like have money and could spend in town but cos they’re bringing so many flats in and so many unemployed people on benefits and the dole and job seekers and stuff they’ve got no money they’re only going to spend like a couple of pound in town. So again like their pushing all the people out of the town so it’s not going to do as well” (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The groups that the young people feared the most were adults who they described as being ‘drug addicts’, ‘alcoholics’, or ‘paedophiles’ and whom they often saw on a regular basis:

*Researcher: “Are there any places you wouldn’t go because it’s unsafe?”
“Not really only places where drunken adults go. They’re scary they could just walk right up to you” (Female 15 Rockford Outreach-based).*

“Erm yeah when you’re walking home on your own there’s loads of like drunken men like in the streets and stuff” (Male 14 Rockford Outreach-based).

“Cos they’re on so much high you don’t know what they’re going to do and stuff... Yeah cos the street after me has loads of junkies flats full of junkies there so” (Female 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Some authors have demonstrated that young people's own fear of crime is well founded given the high rates of crime they experience in daily life (Anderson et al., 1994; Brown, 1995) and that the environment and risk of violent offences informs young people's perceptions of risk (Bannister and Kearns, 2013). The young people had been witness to many incidents of violence in Rockford and therefore their fear of crime was based on what they had witnessed, as one young person described:

"There was loads of crime on there [council estate] as well. Like people petrol bombing peoples cars and there was loads of physical violence like anywhere you went on the streets people don't get on they send gangs after you and stuff. And like I said I think it was when I was little I actually didn't witness attacks but I've seen people lying on the floor after an attack I used to see people with blood on their faces walking around its horrible and I always used to see police cars and ambulances and stuff like that ... I don't think there wasn't a day where you wouldn't see one or two police walking around and stuff" (Male 16 Rockford Interview).

The young people's experience of drunken adults in Rockford impacted upon which way they would walk home after school or after meeting friends:

"Yeah I have to walk from [here] then I go down the back road to make it easier and quicker and it's safer. Cos like round here you get all the drunks. And you get all the drunks over here. So it's safer to go the back road" (Female 15 Rockford Outreach-based).

The prevalence of adults drinking alcohol in Rockford was confirmed by the police who explained about a Drinking Banning Order along the front in Rockford:

"Again here as well we have the drink banning order along the prom that was specifically to deal with your older drinker... local businesses complained about particularly tourists because you have got the caravan site just over there and people walk from there along the prom to Rockford and the first thing they see is... anyone drinking it doesn't create a very good impression. We had quite a bit of pressure came on to the councils to approve that. We get issues with the [local club] probably the biggest club in Rockford, that's not saying much its right on the prom and we do get issues with drunkenness both before and after closing time, people get bottles out whatever and it just makes it easier to clear up at the end of the night or early hours of the morning...it was specifically aimed at the alcoholics that we used to get so it wasn't the younger people" (Police Officer Rockford Interview).

Young people's fear of adults was a predominant and consistent theme throughout the data collected at Rockford. It was highlighted in interviews, through the flip chart

exercises, and also through the photographic activity. In many respects this reflects popular discourses. Indeed, the representation of the 'stranger' as a criminal adult to be fearful of has been a dominant image in the mass media's portrayal of crime (Barak, 1994; Hay, 1995; Lupton, 1999). Schoolchildren routinely tend to be targeted by 'stranger danger' education campaigns (Pain, 2006). Notwithstanding this, the strength and consistency of such feelings were striking in Rockford making it quite distinctive. Indeed, the 'stranger danger' discourse is usually more prominent in areas defined as more affluent, or middle class (Valentine, 1997); in Rockford, this was to the contrary. The fear of strangers impacted on the young people's use of public space both in terms of places that were considered safe and unsafe:

Researcher (R): "Is there anywhere else you go to apart from parks like you have already said?"

Young Person (YP): "Ermthe arcades and it's kind of like a safe place as well. And it's fun"

R: "What makes it safe for you?"

YP: "Because there's staff around, there's staff around and no one can do anything cos there's tons of cameras around so they can't really take you like people can't just come off the street and take you away or something like that"(Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

For young females in particular their primary fear was being approached by a stranger and being 'followed', 'grabbed' 'attacked' 'taken' or 'raped':

"When I went to this shop this man come up and touched my back I was like errrghhh and ran out the shop and then he was following me" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Yeah I get scared like if I'm near a fight or anything I get dead scared in case anything happens...and like drunken and all that. One drunken came up to me and nearly got me so I ran into [local shop] cos my aunty works in there. She had to put me behind the desk and wouldn't let me go home" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

As Goodey (2005: 75) suggests young people, particularly females, have a relatively low risk of being victimised in public space but, as this research has shown, they nonetheless express high levels of fear. Deakin (2006: 384) refers to, a 'paradox exists between the fears that children have about attacks from strangers and the likelihood of experiencing such situations'. Indeed, young people are inclined to overestimate

the risk of crime and base their fear on the perceived rather than the actual risk (Skogan, 1986; Warr and Stafford, 1983; Ferraro, 1996). In this way, young people's perceptions about risk and fear derives from their relationships with their local environment (Matthews and Limb, 1999; McKendrick, 1997; Holloway and Valentine, 2001). In other words, the 'physical, economic, social and civic fabric of neighbourhoods create particular sets of interactions between children and their neighbourhoods, which in turn are shaped by class, gender, age and race' (Pain 2006: 225). Therefore, for young people in Rockford it was drink and drug problems associated with the area that framed their perceptions and experiences:

"You can tell because of the actual rise in crime. Cos Rockford when I was younger there would be nothing in the local newspaper like there might be the odd occasional like stabbing or fight but you'd never like get a murder or anything like that. And then when that started it played on my mind a bit I was like why has the crime gone up so much? And then the [housing association] and the council were actually building houses that weren't council houses before and splitting them up into flats and stuff and then it was just getting more and more people here and then crime shot up again and you started getting murders and then there's one in my mind last week two men from Rockford got arrested they've been charged with murder now and they were from this side of Rockford" (Male 16 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Adults who the young people did not know were often labelled as 'rapists', 'paedophiles', or 'druggies':

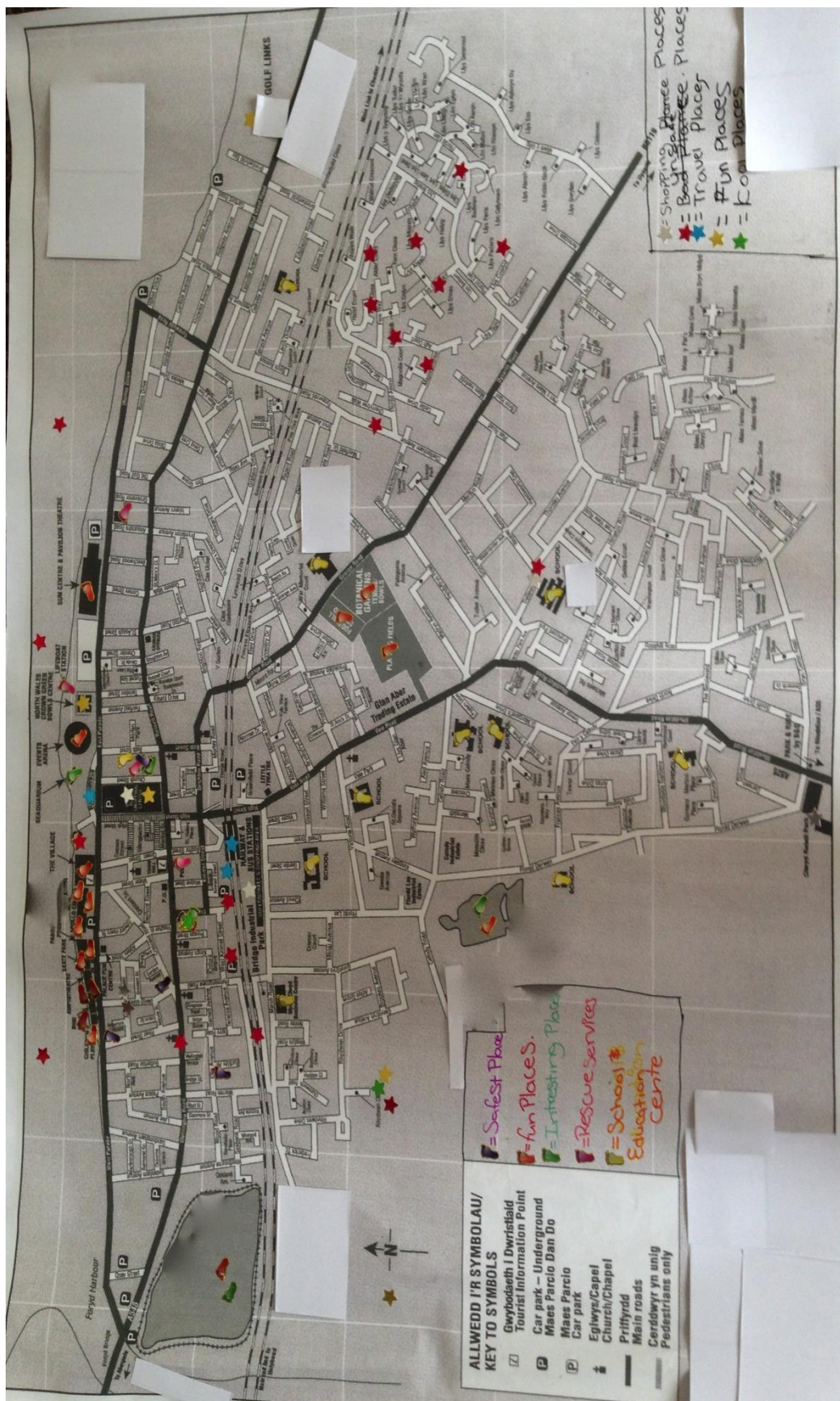
"Erm.... like the junkies the alcoholics the paedo's [paedophiles] the followers and stuff like that" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"Yeah cos the street after me has loads of junkies flats full of junkies there" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"When I first moved up on my first day I went to the skate park when no one was on it and I was running up and on it down the ramps and erm someone was like watching me just going round and then erm he just kept on watching me he walked up ahead of me and then the police got him. Like the police were watching him and then they just stopped and went up to the top of the road and just got him. After what they'd seen...when I was driving up the road I seen him jumping in a car like in a police car and then I thought that was a quick response that's like really safe for everyone really" (Male 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Figure Ten illustrates two young people's local knowledge of Rockford. The mapping exercise revealed young people's experience of places in their locality that they perceived to be safe or dangerous. Known areas were distinguished between those that were perceived to be unsafe, indicated by the red stars. Walking from one street to the next could mean that a young person would go from somewhere they felt safe to unsafe in a matter of minutes.

Figure 10 Mapping exercise in Rockford



In Rockford there also existed a paradoxical juxtaposition between the protective and the threatening adult. Whilst many adults were regarded as a threat (above), others were perceived as sources of protection. The young people in Rockford would sometimes visit the arcades, even though they had no money to spend in there, to feel safe from the protection of the security guards:

Young person (YP) "Because it has loads of guards. It has lots of people so you won't be able to get snatched."

Researcher (R): Do you mean security guards?

YP: "Yeah and I know somebody that works in the place and he won't let anybody touch me" (Male 12 Rockford Interview).

A young female described the safety of adults at another arcades:

"Because there's security and nothing can happen to you...Yeah people walk around with you to make sure that you're safe...People walk with you when you walk around" (Female 12 Rockford Interview).

For the young people in Rockford this particularly applied to the police as discussed in chapter seven.

Police impact upon personal safety

The extent to which young people felt safe in groups than being alone in both case study sites raises interesting issues with regard to modes of policing and youth governance underpinned by managing 'anti-social behaviour' and informing 'dispersal' strategies. Although dispersal powers are promoted as being designed to make the streets safer for residents, the perceptions and experiences of young people show that the impact of such powers undermines their sense of safety and security. As one young person claimed in Smithson and Flint's research (2006: 177) 'you see on the news or TV after there's been a rape or a murder, all you see on the news yeah is if you're going out go with a friend never be on your own, that's one thing I don't understand. The police must want people to be murdered or raped'. The views expressed by the young people in this research concurred with this perspective. When they were in groups the young people felt safer; the young people in both

localities choose to hang around in groups and would rather be with friends than on their own. As Crawford and Lister (2007) suggest, the action of the police dispersing a group can mean that young people are faced with walking home alone, something which many especially young females, found worrying:

"Yeah...it's a group of two are not allowed on there after 9 o clock then you have to be over 16 to be on the prom after 9. Or 15. I think it's stupid. I reckon a group's 10, 20 people that's a group, 5 or 6 people ain't a group it's just people. So you have to walk down the street yeah on your own. And that's just making people like come up to you basically. Cos when you're on your own people do come up to yeah... cos they will. But when you're with people they don't cos you're with people" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

More significantly, the experiences of over-policing that young people in Sandton reported, as discussed in the previous chapter, was reiterated in young people's worries and fears:

"No police - I'm scared police are gonna stop interrogate you fine you for riding your bike and search you etc... getting taken home for no reason at all...Police getting taken home for no reason, same reasons as before" (Male 17 Sandton Outreach-based).

This placed limits on young people's freedom to go out on their own, at night and at the weekend. It impacted upon them travelling around their locality alone and instead they preferred to travel in groups of two or more:

"I guess being around other young people... because you know if you do get attacked you have always got your mates watching your back. Say if they got in trouble you would help your friends out" (Male 14 Sandton youth-centre interview).

"You always feel safer with more of you yeah they always say the bigger the group the better you are" Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Regardless of class differences, young people in both localities felt less safe when alone in each case study site. The perceived threats to their safety meant that some young people did not travel alone and found security in numbers. These important narratives highlight the contentious nature of dispersal orders especially their impact on young people's safety in public space.

The fearful 'adult'

The young people in both case study sites felt most fearful when walking around at night. Furthermore, the majority of young people in both sites claimed that they felt unsafe when walking alone during the day (or night) in a part of the area that was less familiar to them:

"Because it's kind of scary if you are walking home on your own, because of all the paedos [paedophiles] around" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

"All the junkies and all the druggies, erm...that's about it...because I see them and I hear stories about them and stuff...like when you are on your own I feel quite worried, but when I'm with my friends we just run off down to friends" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

To some extent this was mitigated in Sandton owing to the practices of parents chaperoning the young people (discussed in Chapter Six), but, nonetheless, there were some similarities:

"Depends where you are. But I do feel safer in the day though – but it depends where you go. And to be fair we live here though so feel ok" (Male 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

"It's really unsafe especially at night, you know the club strip where all the clubs are well that's really bad and there's always loads of fights and a year ago someone I know got stabbed around the corner from there" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

Young people in Sandton also feared drunken adults and the young people often talked about incidences when adults had approached them when they were out in public space:

"Somebody really drunk, there's a few things that I feel intimidated by someone drunk, erm drunk people arguing, and like big groups of people like I said before" (Female 16 Sandton Interview)

The majority of young people in Rockford also revealed an awareness of danger within and around the places where they lived. These dangers were not always related to territoriality but were concerned with 'people' or 'others' associated with drug dealing or drinking, which were usually adults:

"You don't go cos you don't want to start and that. It just like there's too much shit up there, there's like druggies and stuff walking around all the time and I like I just don't want to be up there" (Female 15 Rockford youth-centre interview).

The same applied in Sandton:

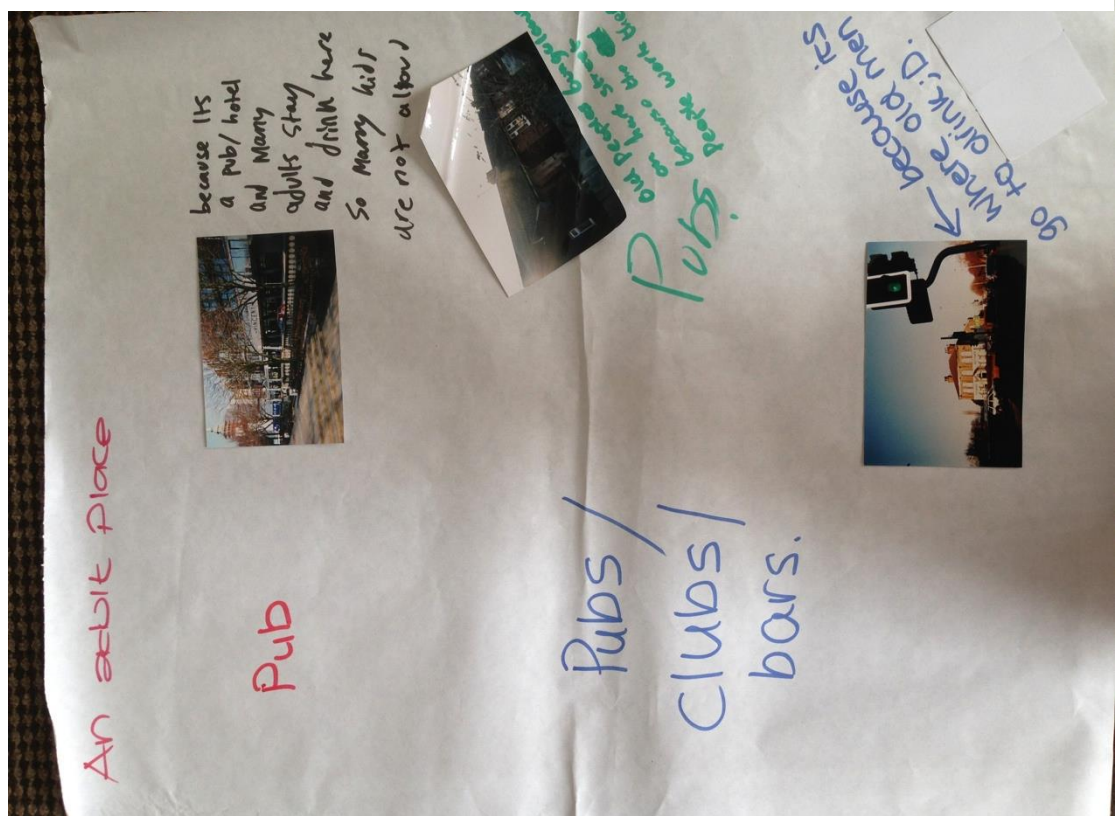
"I wouldn't really go to the skate park though, because that's where the gangs hang around and I just wouldn't go there or a park but I forgot what it is called.... something park? That's the one that's in [place] that's where druggies and kids go where they are going to get drunk and stuff. I have walked through it once and there were needles on the floor" (Female 15 Sandton youth-centre Interview).

Certain streets and places, such as the areas outside pubs, were especially perceived to be dangerous. In both locations, the photographic method emphasised this point (see Figure 11 and 12). When the young people were asked to take photographs of an 'adult place' in their locality, young people in both case study sites took photographs of pubs. Not only were pubs deemed adult places they were also defined as being unsafe.

Figure 11 Photographic Method 'An adult place'



Figure 12 Photographic Method in Sandton 'An adult place'



The safety of places

Many of the young people who I met outreach in both localities regularly commented that they wanted somewhere to shelter from the bad weather, to provide warmth and safety resonating with Meek's (2008) research:

"Somewhere to go for free, because you don't get somewhere indoors for free, at all, if you don't buy something then you don't go out, or even when it's raining and all cold or whatever, build something for free that is nice, indoors and warm" (Female 15 Sandton Outreach-based).

This was reiterated by the young people in Rockford:

"We want an indoor skate park because it always rains" (Male 15 Rockford Outreach-based).

"It's cold now so we need somewhere to go like where you could just sit down and watch TV and stuff like that" (Female 17 Rockford Outreach-based).

When discussing safety and security, two places were particularly significant to the young people their homes and the youth organisations that they attended. Young people's homes in Sandton were defined as a safe place and were evidenced in the photographic activity below (see Figure 14). Similarly, the young people in Rockford also took photographs of their homes to represent safe places (see Figure 15) and would comment:

"Wait where's me house oh there...Cos that's home...safe place my house" (Male 14 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

The youth organisations were also identified as safe places for both groups of young people. This was especially so in Rockford, however, where the youth organisation was perceived as a place offering protection by the staff that worked there. The young people regularly commented that if it were not for the youth organisation they would be on the streets and that the staff who worked there provided safety:

Young person (YP): "Safe because of staff...these people are staff of youth organisation [sic] ...It's a safe place it's the youth organisation...Because its the youth organisation"

Researcher (R): "Why?"

YP: "Because you're here"

R: "Because there are other people here then?"

YP: "Yeah the staff they look after you. Because they won't let you out of their sight unless you ask them...They won't you have to ask them" (Female 13 and Male 14 Rockford photograph method narrative).

Figure 13 Photograph Method in Rockford 'a safe place'

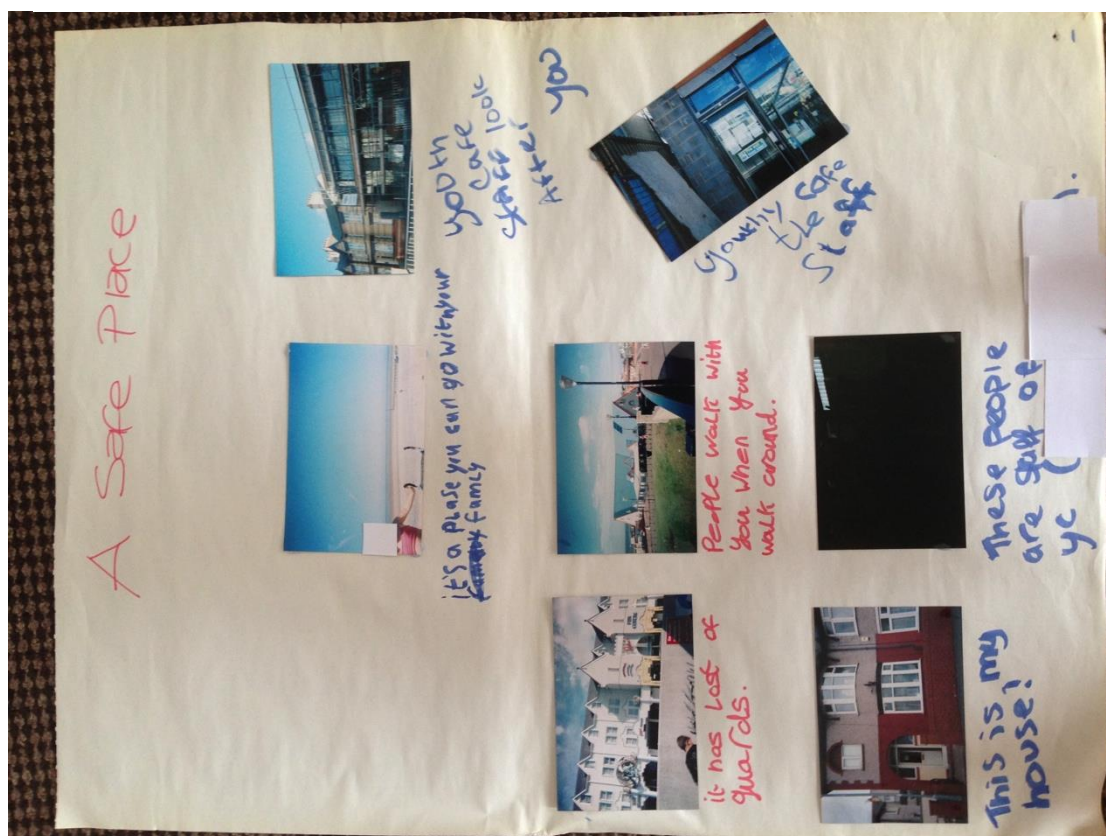


Figure 14 Photographic Method in Sandton 'a safe place'



Figure 15 and 16 reveal young people's conceptualisations of safety and what a safe place meant. Whilst both photographic activities included a photograph of a young person's home, overwhelmingly the young people in Rockford took photographs of places which had 'staff', 'guards' or 'adults' there to protect them. The tension that exists in Rockford in the young people's perceptions of adults - as people to be feared on the one hand ('druggies', 'alcoholics', 'paedophiles') and, on the other hand, as people offering protection (neighbours, youth workers and police officers) - was further reflected elsewhere:

Young Person (YP): "It really is because yesterday people tried to nick my bike and they [staff] stopped it"

Researcher (R): "So why is it safe?"

YP: "Because of the staff. Because no men or women can get in youth cafe, because no one can get inside like an adult or whatever" (Female 12 Rockford youth-centre Interview) (See figure 16).

Similar sentiments were expressed by another young person in Rockford who talked about wanting new facilities, but only if it was supervised:

"Yeah as long as like someone was watching and that like someone that owns it in case anything happened" (Male 14 Interview youth-centre Rockford).

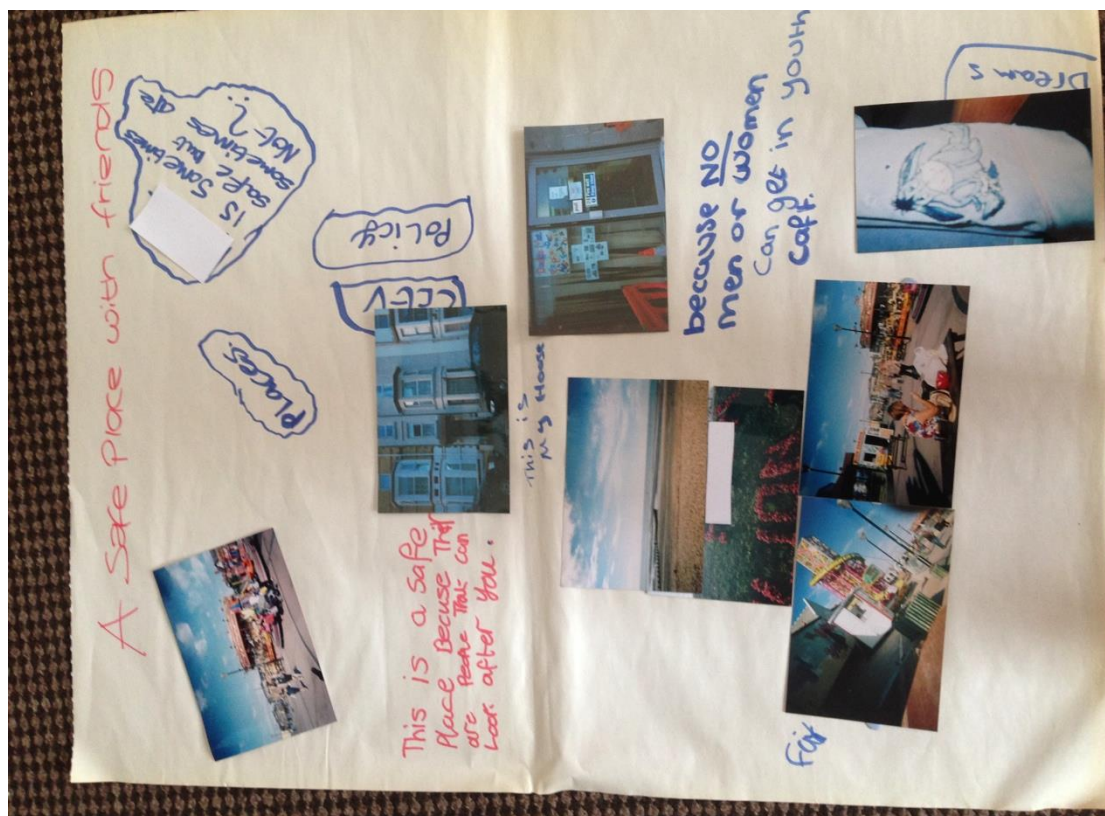
However, since the completion of fieldwork in Rockford the youth organisation has been closed, leaving no youth provision in the vicinity for the young people to attend. In an already deprived and under resourced area this has left the young people feeling more marginalised and subsequently more vulnerable, particularly because the organisation was not only a place of safety, but it also provided a hot meal for the young people each night. During fieldwork one of the older young people who attended the youth organisation illustrated how important this was:

"I don't know where half the kids would go. Like I've seen like both ...I wasn't one of the kids that came in because I was starving all the time. I was quite lucky in that sense but the majority are starving. Rockford is full of people living in poverty like, not that they are like completely homeless got no money but what money they do get is not very much to live off really" (Female 17 Rockford youth-centre Interview).

Figure 15 Photographic Method in Sandton 'a safe place with friends'



Figure 16 Photographic Method in Rockford 'a safe place with friends'



The above extracts and photographic methods have illustrated how important it was for the young people in Rockford to have somewhere to go; to be safe, warm, fed and protected by adults. Research has shown that young people from deprived areas have far higher rates of ill health, death and injury from accidents, both inside and outside the home (Hillman, Adams and Whitelegg 1990; Roberts, Smith and Bryce 1995; UNICEF 2001). Therefore, in areas such as Rockford, the youth organisation was of paramount importance to young people's well-being.

Conclusion

In both case study sites, young people felt some sense of threat from adults when out in public space. This fear materialised through young people witnessing adults in public being either drunk, or taking drugs, sometimes in places which they perceived to be for them, such as in parks. The chapter revealed how problematising groups of young people takes the attention away from adults whom in both case studies were a source of concern. This impacted upon where the young people would and would not go and increased young people's fear of crime. However, in addition young people feared 'other' young people in Sandton reflecting class-based tensions. The construction of the 'anti-social youth' in Sandton, through the derogatory labelling of working class young people as 'chavs', reflected as Shildrick et al., (2009) points out historical discourses of the white working class as feckless, welfare dependent and morally degenerate.

In Rockford, a 'stranger danger' discourse was prevalent and was voiced by many young people who were worried about being followed, being hurt, or being taken. The fear of strangers prevalent in Rockford, affected where they did or did not go to or 'hang out'. Parks and other public places associated were conceptualised as fearful places due to the adults who frequented them. It was only in Rockford that there was a juxtaposition of the protecting and threatening adult - as people to be feared on the one hand ('druggies', 'alcoholics', 'paedophiles') and, on the other hand, as people offering protection (neighbours, youth workers and police officers). Their insecurities revealed how these have been exacerbated due to the effect of recent

economic recessions and government cuts. The youth organisation in Rockford provided food and safety for the young people which now raises questions about young people's health and well-being in already disadvantaged areas.

The young people's differences of risk, crime, fear and use of public space are central to these debates. Places that young people in each locality deemed safe or unsafe reflected how place impacts upon safety. The divergences of young people's experiences revealed that place (socio-demographics) impacts upon fear of crime and informs young people's perceptions of risk. As already noted, young people's perceptions about risk and fear derives from their relationships with their local environment (Matthews and Limb, 1999; McKendrick, 1997; Holloway and Valentine, 2001) which in turn are shaped by class (Pain, 2006). Therefore, for young people in Rockford the perceived fear of strangers who would hurt them in their locality framed their perceptions and experiences. The research findings presented here have illustrated the socio-economic differences between the young people in each case study site and how class profoundly structures their experiences (Pain 2006). How young people perceived risk to their personal safety reflected populist discourses of the 'anti-social youth' or 'stranger danger'. These discourses served to skew actual risks likely to occur to young people therefore victimisation of young people becomes hidden.

Some research suggests that young people from deprived areas suffer disproportionately from forms of harm (Stephenson and Smith, 1989). Whilst this may be true, the research findings presented here cannot be generalised to all young people living in deprived areas. However, what can be claimed is that in areas where crime and social problems are above national averages, young people are more likely to witness this, accounting for the young people's perceived fear and threat in Rockford. The impact of place therefore was influential in how young people in each case study site weighed up 'potential risk' of harm to their own personal safety. Young people's perceptions about where they lived and the image that was often portrayed also added to this. Exploring youth and their experiences and perceptions therefore unveils a complicated set of contradictions within the study of young people.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Introduction

This research employed ethnographic methods as a means of exploring the ways in which young people conceptualise and experience policing, crime, safety, and security in two coastal resorts. A key objective of the research was to critically analyse and compare official representations with the actual experiences of young people within, and between, the two localities. Chapters Two and Three established the context for the research by reminding us of the persistent attention young people have received over the last 200 years and the manner in which they are regulated and governed. In many ways, the findings of this research set out a case for policy and practice that challenges the negative portrayal of young people, the increasing regulation of youth, and the negative impacts of institutionally intolerant policies in the modern period (Muncie, 1999b).

Within this context, which has been described as taking a 'punitive turn' during the late 1990s (Muncie, 2008:6), working class young people have increasingly been placed at the forefront of policy agendas. The significance of social class and the impact upon young people's lives and their experiences of social control is the frame within which the research took place. The research has presented evidence that social class still remains relevant when conducting youth research and that class and place are central to understanding young people's lived experiences (Furlong and Biggart, 1999; Goldson, 2003; MacDonald et al., 2005; White and Cunneen, 2006; Shildrick et al., 2009). The findings posed some important new questions – in relation, for example, to the differential (and perhaps counter-intuitive) experiences of 'being policed' by the two groups of young people in the contrasting settings. It also raised a number of questions regarding young people's safety in localised public space. With respect to this, the research has explored the main issues of concern for young people within and outside of crime prevention discourses and, in doing so, it has compared and contrasted the ways in which questions of crime, governance, victimisation and

related issues are expressed and represented in official policy discourses with young people's lived experiences and perceptions. Qualitative studies that focus specifically on young people's everyday experiences of policing, crime, safety, and security at the local level in coastal resorts are limited both in number and reach. This research not only extends knowledge in this regard but it also creates the basis for a more informed policy agenda.

The concluding chapter draws together the key themes presented throughout the thesis. The chapter starts by revisiting the data chapters, first by exploring the importance of 'place' and the formation of place-based identities, which were analysed in Chapter Six. Then, the key findings presented in Chapter Seven, examining the governance and policing of young people, explores the hybridised architectures of youth governance, regulation and control. The findings from the final data chapter illustrate how socio-economic differences and class can profoundly structure young people's experiences and perceptions of 'risk', 'fear of crime', and 'safety'. The chapter then proceeds to explore the key role that ethnography and participatory methods can play in developing our understanding of young people's perceptions and the meanings they associate with crime, policing, safety and security derived from their lived experiences. In doing so the chapter considers the policy implications that this research implies in terms of engaging with young people in two very different coastal resorts, one marginalised and one relatively affluent. The chapter then moves on to outline the original contribution the research makes to sociological criminology and concludes by considering issues that require further exploration.

Place, leisure and youth identity

The research revealed the significant impact that 'place' had on shaping young people's lived experiences. Observing young people in their local milieux with respect to how they engaged with public space revealed the disparity in leisure and recreational activities between the two constituencies of young people. It was apparent that social class was a determining factor in young people's access to

resources (Savage et al 2005) and that this could restrict or enable their leisure opportunities. The youth centre-based young people in Sandton were able to afford to pay for the services that the youth organisation offered and many were chaperoned there, or were easily able to travel to the youth centre. The young people in Rockford, who attended their youth organisation did so by their own means, and did not have to pay to attend or engage in the youth organisations' programme.

All the young people attending the youth organisation in Rockford lived very close to the facility, they had a close identification and familiarity with the area and spent most of their leisure time in public space pursuing activities that did not cost any money in a way that reflected 'class dimensions rooted in the structure of opportunities' (Cahill, 2000: 260). The streets contributed towards shaping the identity of young people in Rockford, and reflected the 'strong independent neighbourhood culture of working class life' (Tebbutt, 2012: 20). The significance of public space and 'the street' for contemporary working class youth, therefore, reflected the historical continuities that were explored in Chapter Two where 'the urban street was a significant site of relaxation for working class young people' (Springhall, 1986: 139). In Rockford, there was evidence that young people's experiences were shaped not only by the macro issues of social inequality associated with structural location, but also on a micro level in relation to their individual experiences of growing up in Rockford. In this sense the research contributes to ongoing discussions surrounding class (Savage et al., 2005) and the interaction between macro and micro factors in shaping working class young people's experiences of growing up in locations enduring structural marginalisation.

Whilst the idea of 'community' and 'place-based identity' were evident in Rockford, this was less significant in Sandton. The narratives of the young people featured in the study revealed their contrasting, class-based experiences of navigating public space. Class differences were also revealed through the spatial boundaries that young people constructed in both localities.

Whilst localities such as Rockford are often portrayed as lacking in community cohesion, as being fractured and disorganised, it became apparent that this portrayal was over simplistic. Indeed, there was evidence that, despite economic disadvantage, there were vibrant social networks in Rockford. Indeed, notwithstanding historically embedded rivalries and cultural tensions, there was evidence that many of the young people felt that Rockford was essentially a 'safe place' within which networks of trust and a sense of belonging - that were not evident in Sandton - prevailed. The research findings presented here departed from those presented by Flatley et al., (2008) and Ames et al., (2007) whose research suggested that 'neighbourhood decline' and 'social disconnectedness' are widely used to describe neighbourhoods suffering from high levels of social deprivation and 'anti-social behaviour' (Egan et al., 2013; Bannister and Kearns, 2013). The research findings here demonstrated that such blanket generalisations are problematic. Places where the young people lived in Rockford were sometimes divided because of territoriality, but also unified through strong family and friendship networks (Goldson, 2003). A sense of belonging around place were key features of what many young people expressed in Rockford. Specific locations in Rockford were bounded territorially in accordance with long histories that had been passed down through the generations (Kintrea et al., 2008; 2011). However, in a broader sense territoriality expressed itself as a kind of 'super place attachment' (Pickering et al., 2012: 955), resulting from the young people's close identification with, and defensiveness of, their neighbourhood, which might be understood as a coping mechanism for young people living in poorer places (Kintrea et al., 2011).

The study's findings support academic research that suggests that many young people continue to identify with their local environment (see Andersen et al 1999; Hendry et al., 1993; Pearce, 1996; Taylor et al., 1996; Kintrea et al., 2008; Watt and Stenson, 1998; Crawshaw, 2001; Munck, 2003) which was particularly true for the majority of young people in Rockford, where their pride in Rockford illustrated elements of localism and of enduring working class culture (Andersen et al., 1999; Munck, 2003; Watt and Stenson, 1998). In Rockford, to borrow the words of Tebbutt (2012: 129), neighbourhood played an important part in the 'upbringing of working

class boys, for whom those local landscapes were integral to their sense of identity and belonging’.

In departing from Denzin’s (1991) view that the traditional concept of social class is no longer relevant, and that the importance of place identity and locale are less relevant in post-modern times (Featherstone, 1991; Miles, 2000), the research findings presented in Chapter Six highlighted that place and class are central to young people’s experiences (Kintrea et al., 2008; MacDonald and Marsh. 2005; MacDonald et al., 2005). For example, it was apparent that the negative regard in which Rockford was held from outside the area invoked a defensive territoriality amongst young people, which in turn impacted upon how social networks were configured and how relationships of trust and distrust were manifest. This finding also contributes to the literature on neighbourhood spaces which ‘have attracted far less attention than metropolitan ones concerned with exploring spatial practices. Yet as historians have highlighted the streets of working class neighbourhoods not only played an important part in the urban imagination but also significantly shaped the lives of those who lived there’ (Tebbutt, 2012: 234).

Policing and the governance of young people

The research findings presented in Chapter Seven revealed that young people’s experiences of ‘policing’ and ‘governance’ in both coastal resorts challenged dominant assumptions and previous research. For example, the findings suggested, - contrary to much existing academic literature - that middle class young people in Sandton experienced more antagonistic and negative relations with the police when compared to the working class young people in Rockford.

Ironically, perhaps, being ‘dispersed’, ‘moved on’, or ‘stopped and searched’ by the police was the most common encounter between the police and middle class young people in Sandton and resulted in tensions with, and negative perceptions of, the police. The young people felt over-policed and harassed rather than protected.

Indeed, the majority of young people in the more affluent coastal resort of Sandton endured more over-policing and over-regulation, which, according to the literature, are most likely to be experienced by working class young people (see McAra and McVie, 2005; Loader, 1996; Anderson et al., 1994). Echoing findings from Flood-Page et al's (2000) research that repeated encounters with the police serve to reinforce hostility towards them, the narratives of the young people in Sandton suggested that their experiences undermined trust and confidence in the police. There was a strong sense among young people in Sandton that because of their age and presence in public space they were disproportionately targeted by the police and they were resentful of the attention that they received.

In contrast, the young people in Rockford did not receive the same forms of policing from police officers 'on the beat'. In Rockford the working class young people conceptualised and experienced policing more positively, largely in pastoral terms whereby the police - in schools and in the community - were seen to provide a source of protection and comfort. In this respect the young people in Rockford felt that the police 'engaged' with them positively through police led project work in the community. The police project served not only to build relationships with young people but also, potentially to improve the reputation of young people within the wider community. In addition, the role of the police officer in and outside of the school environment - through acting as supportive figures with bullying issues - led to more positive conceptualisations of the police that were distinctive and not reflected in Sandton. Consequently, the police were more tolerant of young people's behaviour and recognised the limited resources of the locality.

Similar to Rockford, the pastoral role of the police officer and potential benefits this can bring has been documented in Scotland. '*The Scottish Campus Officer: Past, Present and Future*' report by Frondigoun et al., (2013a) illustrated that the role of the police officer was to 'help develop greater links with the community and in particular young people... [and]...the officer becomes part of daily life, providing additional moral authority and building up real trust: many pupils come to Campus Officers seeking advice on everything from bullying to drugs' (Frondigoun et al.,

2013b: 5). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Two, the development of pastoral policing in schools is not a new phenomenon and dates back to the 1960s. Both in Rockford and Scotland the pastoral support provided by the police officer in this capacity should be encouraged. However, we need to be careful that this role does not lead to extra enforcement, surveillance, of sharing intelligence and of multi-agency preventative working (Lamont et al 2011: ii).

Whilst the young people in Rockford did not encounter policing in the same ways as the young people in Sandton; through being 'dispersed', 'moved on', or 'stopped and searched', some, however, did experience and were aware of other forms of 'policing' in the locality. Youth crime prevention strategies such as the Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) existed in Rockford - which can reflect broader inter-agency mechanisms of regulation and control. Only a minority of young people who participated in the research were involved with such programmes. Interestingly such programmes did not exist in Sandton. The targeting of young people deemed to be 'at risk' compounded the construction of young people as either 'in trouble' or 'as troubling' (Griffin 2001) in Rockford. This continues to raise interesting questions about which constituencies of young people are thought justified to be policed.

The development of diverse state and institutional practices that Foucault (1977) identified - starting with the emergence of the reformatory in the nineteenth century - have endured, albeit in different forms and continue to 'penetrate deep into the everyday life of the urban working classes' (Muncie, 2009: 237). In this way, agencies that have been co-opted into increasingly coercive 'preventative' agendas contributed to processes that principally focused on individual responsibility and tend to negate the significance of wider structural factors. As Yates (2004) explicates, agencies such as (YIP) - which have not historically had a major role to play in criminal justice - are now becoming central parts of the social control apparatus. This sheds light on the ideological shifts in professional discourses and the implications for youth justice policy and practice. However, regardless of class, the presence of young people in public space in Sandton was problematised and tensions existed between the young people and the police, which can have significant consequences and long-

term implications (Cleghorn et al., 2011; Clayman and Skinns, 2012). The research findings have demonstrated that coercive strategies that involve the criminalisation of young people 'who otherwise may not come into short or long-term contact with the criminal justice system, can exacerbate tensions between youths and other members of the community due to youths' perceptions of unfair treatment, excessive restrictions and unnecessary intervention in their daily affairs' (White 1998: 131).

The research findings further emphasised the more generic problematisation of the presence of young people in public space deriving from constructions of 'threatening youth' that are so prevalent in the populist imagination. Coercive strategies which portray young people as 'outsiders', reinforce a message that young people are perceived as threats to the community and not as part of the community' (White 1998: 130). As Chapter Three demonstrated 'moral panics' continue to recur around young people in public space (Jeffs and Smith 1996; Loader 1996; Watts and Stenson 1998; Macdonald and March 2005), however arguments have tended to be classed, portraying the presence and behaviour of particularly working class young people as the 'problem'. This research has shown that the conflict over the use of public space, in particular with regards to how public space is 'policed', can potentially affect all young people, regardless of class. Their visibility and presence alone, in particular in commercialised spaces, was enough to be deemed 'unsightly and unwanted' (Coleman 2005) by the police in Sandton to result in their removal. Therefore the regulation of such spaces is problematic as it 'redefines public space as private space and closes it off to those who do not consume. Young people's presence in public space is thereby de-legitimised' (White 1998: 131).

The targeting of young people by policing agencies in urban centres (see Coleman, 2004; Norris and Armstrong, 1999; Beck and Willis, 1995; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997) is linked to the presumption about and 'perceptions of disorder... particularly in the context of urban revitalisation and the creation of safe shopping zones (Coleman 2004: 186). As Hancock (2001: 128) suggests, regeneration initiatives are 'not really aimed at local residents. Rather, they wish to attract people from beyond the town to the cultural amenities and tourist facilities that were being developed'.

Paradoxically, therefore, the policing of largely middle class young people in Sandton served the purposes of elite interests; to satisfy the needs of potential investors and to create 'safe, aesthetically pleasing spaces' when attracting visitors to the coastal resort (Raco, 2003: 1870).

Police engagement programmes operating in Rockford resulted in producing better relations between the police and young people, in less antagonistic policing and in more positive experiences than those of the young people in Sandton. In turn, the police were more tolerant of young people's behaviour in Rockford and accepted that they had limited resources available to them in the locality. The police in Rockford were not policing young people in the same way as in Sandton, they were not policing for the consumer. The narratives of the young people and the police in Rockford also suggested that the attitudes of the police officers were more empathetic and also suggested a more tolerant culture existed.

Whilst both coastal resorts were affected by the economic recession and cuts to public spending, the difference in socio-economic factors between the two coastal resorts accounted for the differences in policing styles. Namely that Sandton invested substantial resources into attracting visitors, which subsequently impacted negatively upon the young people who lived there. Whereas in Rockford police-youth relations were more conciliatory and greater levels of tolerance and appreciative understanding prevailed.

Whilst this research can only provide findings based on the young people's narratives of their experiences in the two coastal resorts that were the object of study, we can still learn from this insight into the policing of young people in general. The research has illuminated differential forms of regulating and governing young people's everyday lives in coastal resorts, which are unique to place and also asks us to rethink the policing of young people. It is essential that generalisations of policing working class young people are not made, and that we understand that 'policing' is unique to place, in terms of over-policing in consumption spaces and second, in terms of 'policing the working class'. If we do not then 'the discriminatory application of

coercive measures, both geographically in terms of protected places for the privileged and socially... entrenches major class and ethnic divides [and] does little to alleviate core problems of poverty' (White 1998: 131).

Young people's experience of safety, security and harm

Chapter Eight explored the varying levels of young people's perceptions and experiences of safety and security in each of the coastal resorts, which provided an insight into an otherwise under researched field (Pain, 2006). Young people's worries and concerns revealed how 'place', 'class' and 'youth' functioned as key determinants in shaping perceptions of securities and insecurities. Furthermore, in both Rockford and Sandton populist discourses impacted upon young people's constructions of 'risk' and 'fear' and influenced the means by which they navigated and negotiated public space. In Rockford this was principally characterised by constructions of 'stranger danger'. In Sandton, notions of the 'anti-social youth' were pivotal.

Indeed, the young people in Rockford were fearful of adult 'strangers' in a way that was reminiscent of the 'stranger danger' discourse (Barak, 1994; Hay, 1995; Katz, 2006; Lupton, 1999). Interestingly, the 'stranger danger' discourse is usually more prominent in areas that are defined as being more affluent or middle class (Valentine, 1997). However, this was not the case in the two case study sites. By carrying out research in an under-researched geographical place with young people, whose voices are often left unheard (Fraser et al., 2014) only then can we begin to understand powerful discourses that impact upon young people's lives.

The 'stranger danger' discourse served to skew young people's perceptions of risks in Rockford. Deakin (2006: 384) suggests that a 'paradox exists between the fears that children have about attacks from strangers and the likelihood of experiencing such situations'. Young people are inclined to overestimate the risk of crime and base their fear on the perceived rather than the actual risk (Skogan, 1986; Warr and Stafford, 1983; Ferraro, 1996). Interestingly, however, in Rockford a dichotomy existed between young people's perceptions of adults as fearful, on the one hand,

and, on the other, as people who offer and provide protection. This highlighted both the influence of the powerful 'stranger danger' rhetoric and the vulnerabilities of the young people. This again reinforces dominant political discourses examined in Chapter Three, that young people are constructed as 'threats' rather than as 'victims' or vulnerable (Goldson 2004).

The manner in which the youth centre-based young people conceptualised 'others' influenced the ways in which they perceived 'threats' to their personal safety, which was evidenced in Chapter Eight. In Sandton, class-tensions between young people and the notion of 'othering' (Skeggs, 2005) were very significant. In particular, the youth centre-based, largely middle class, young people held negative perceptions towards working class young people who frequented the town centre; they viewed them as 'chavs' who were 'disorderly' and 'outsiders' – evidence of the filtering down of the populist, 'anti-social' rhetoric surrounding young people. The implications of this impacted upon their use of public space and influenced where they would and would not go.

In this context, problematising groups of young people in public space diverts attention away from adults who, for young people in both case study sites, were a cause for concern and a source of potential harm. In Sandton it was the police who comprised the principal concern. In Rockford, it was the adult 'stranger'. The power of populist discourses also impacted in shaping the young people's perceptions albeit in different ways. The manner in which the youth centre-based middle class young people in Sandton conceptualised working class young people as causing 'trouble' or 'harm' illustrated how powerful rhetoric can be, and how influential the role of parents, schools and the media also are in delivering this message. Similarly, the 'stranger danger' discourse in Rockford powerfully impacted upon the young people and featured dominantly in their narratives about security and safety. These findings reflected contrasting constructions of 'othering'. In Sandton, the middle class young people 'asserted their moral worth by ascribing negative characteristics to the working class other' (Skeggs, 2005: 977). In Rockford the adult 'stranger' was the principal source of anxiety and concern.

Chapter Two also discussed the development of the youth service as an informal means to regulate and govern young people's lives. In this respect, the research findings in Rockford were counterintuitive - the youth organisation was a sanctuary and a safe place. The young people in Rockford provided evidence that the youth organisation was a safe space for them outside of the family home. The photographic method provided evidence of this. Indeed, when the young people were invited to take a photograph of 'a safe place', many photographs were of their youth organisation. The young people regularly commented that if it were not for the youth organisation they would be on the streets. Perceiving the youth centre and its staff as providing a safe haven once again implied the dichotomous construction of adults. The research findings provided evidence of the impact that populist discourses had on a young person growing up in coastal resorts. Whether they feared other young people or adults – both impacted significantly upon the way in which they navigated public space.

Since 2010, consolidating austerity has raised a whole new set of research questions. Not only do youth organisations provide informal education, social skills and often extra-curricular activities, in Rockford the youth organisation provided three basic needs, food, safety and shelter. In addition to this, a survey by the Berkshire Youth Service found that 'children and young people who attend youth clubs will be happier and healthier than those who do not' (McCardle, 2014: 1). The UNISON (2014) report entitled 'how cuts are removing opportunities for young people and damaging their lives' speaks volumes. We are currently living in a climate of uncertainty in particular with respect to young people. Union leaders warned in their report (2014) of an increase in 'poverty, crime and unemployment for a generation of young people as coalition cuts devastate council budgets reserved for running youth services' (Leftly 2014: 1). The research findings have shown that in times of austerity a youth centre was a safe haven for a young person. The impact of these cuts have indeed had real implications for the youth organisations in both case study sites. Since leaving the field, there is now no youth organisation in Rockford and no funding available from the youth service to the youth organisation in Sandton. The Coalition policies, which

have cut youth services, unfortunately will have many serious consequences. This could lead to an increase in the visibility of young people on the streets or in public spaces. This could lead to the further regulation and criminalisation of youthful behaviour in public spaces. This could also lead to an increase in young people's vulnerability, especially in already marginalised and deprived areas like Rockford where young people already feel fearful of attacks from adults. This could also have negative impacts upon young people's health, well-being and social development. Fundamentally, this does impact upon young people's safety.

As Chapter Two illustrated state intervention into the development of youth work would often appear persuasive in times of concern about the health, efficiency and morality of young people. Regardless of financial constraints, laws were enforced to provide state sponsored youth work. Local authority youth centres were established to provide 'universal social education'. However, over the decades when resources decreased from youth provision, this was said to result in a 'youth' crime problem. Given the current climate and decline in financial resources it is possible to predict where we are heading, by not providing a 'universal social education' to young people today.

The research findings have demonstrated that it is imperative to provide a safe place for young people in times of austerity. If only privately funded youth organisations stay open in the more affluent areas, like the case in Sandton, then young people in the more deprived areas do not receive any kind of universal social education, or safety – yet ironically these will be the young people who will be blamed for any future 'youth' crime problems. Young people need safe places outside of their homes to 'hang out' 'congregate' and 'socialise' with their peers. If this is taken away then as many youth workers have feared 'young people [will be] left hanging about on street corners, rather than having youth centers where they can learn new skills and channel their energies into projects, such as forming bands. The cuts disproportionately hurt those from poorer backgrounds' (Leftley 2014:1).

The case for ethnography and participatory methods with young people

By putting the voices of young people at the centre of the research, this study represents a challenge to the quantitative focus of much mainstream criminology and research that tends to be dominated by narrowly prescribed administrative agendas (Tombs and Whyte, 2004). The research contributes data that is richly appreciative of young people's experiences and thereby reasserts the case for ethnographic approaches. Becker (1958: 657) points out that social scientists should not only strive to collect many instances of an identified phenomenon, but also seek to gather 'many kinds of evidence' to enhance the validity of a particular conclusion (Kusenbach, 2003: 7). Multiple methods were therefore employed in order to enhance the quality and validity of this research whilst emphasising the necessity of young people's participation in matters that affect them (UNCRC, Article 12 Right to Participation, ratified in 1991 by UK government). In recognising the importance of the 'new sociology of childhood' (James et al., 1998), which promotes young people's independent and active voice, the methodological design aimed to optimise the participation of young people in the research process.

Walters (2004: 95) argued that there has been 'a growing trend of nervousness surrounding criminologists who engage in ethnographic studies'. This research has demonstrated some of the reasons for this nervousness and has outlined and foregrounded the very real ethical dilemmas that researchers can face in 'getting up close' to young people. Risks included the prospect of 'going native', the chance of witnessing criminal activity and the potential dangers that might be presented when entering marginalised communities as an unfamiliar researcher (Yates, 2004). Importantly, this research identified strategies which can be employed to successfully negotiate such issues and outlined how ethnographic research can be conducted in the current methodologically risk averse climate (Yates, 2004).

The findings of the study are based on an extensive and robust ethnographic research methodology, detailed in Chapter Four, which generated significant and meaningful findings. The methodological approach adopted allowed for young people to be at the centre of the research. The research was committed to a framework encompassing young people's rights and the participatory methods utilised offered the young people multiple opportunities to participate and express themselves throughout the period of fieldwork. Personally, the most important part of the research process was the building and maintaining trust with the young people in each case study site. Without this the research could not have been conducted and the findings here generated.

Being accepted and allowed in by the young people enabled me to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding about their lives, which some researchers may not have been able to do. This was unique to me and because of the way in which I was received by the young people in both localities. Taft (2007) claims that 'a researcher does not need to share the same characteristics as those they are researching in order to gain valuable insights into their social world' (cited in Heath et al., 2009: 41), to which I agree. However, whilst not being much older than the participants, I felt that my age did not give me 'insider status' (Heath et al., 2009), for me it was the importance I gave to building trust and rapport with the young people and through the art of listening to them.

Whilst acknowledging and recognising a potential danger for ethnographers to 'go native' thus losing objectivity and distance – I did not 'become a fully-fledged member of the community under study' (O'Reilly 2009: 87). I did not have 'insider status' and throughout the research process continually reflected upon my position, and considered the extent to which I became involved with the young people and the study, 'and the implications of that involvement for [the] participants' (O'Reilly 2009: 89). My role was one which balanced empathy with distance (O'Reilly 2009: 89).

This allowed me to ask questions and begin to understand what it meant to be a young person growing up in a coastal resort. As a researcher I had to have a high

degree of skill and sensitivity, which was important to the research process as a whole. Over time I felt that trust had been gained and a good rapport built with the young people. Subsequently, when it was time to leave the field I found this difficult. It was important to me that the young people knew I had not just entered their lives and left for good without giving anything back. I produced reports for the young people, visited them at the youth organisation, and still visit the localities to meet with the young people. Ironically, this means that we ‘hang out’ on the street corners chatting, since the youth organisation has been closed down in Rockford. By still remaining in contact with some of the young people, I feel privileged to still be part of their lives, and as debated in Chapter Four, ‘do we ever leave the field?’ (Stebbins, 1991: 248) for me – not quite.

This research therefore adds to the rich ethnographic tradition articulated by other youth researchers (see Thomson 2008; Heath et al., 2009; Freeman and Mathieson, 2009; Ilan, 2007; Yates 2006, for example). It has reasserted the role that ethnography can play in exploring the governance of young people. In doing so, the ethnographic method pointed the analytical gaze into the lives of young people in coastal resorts and produced original knowledge regarding their experiences and meanings they associated with policing and governance and their conceptualisations of safety, and security in two very different contexts – one an excluded and marginal context and the other a more affluent and ‘successful’ consumption space. The study incorporated young people’s voices centrally into the research and generated data that challenges common assumptions about young people in public space in multiple ways.

Limitations, policy implications and future research opportunities

The research did not set out to explicitly contribute to policy. Rather, it aimed to present what the young people themselves thought and felt about their lived experiences and perceptions of policing, crime, safety and security in two coastal resorts. However, despite this specificity of focus, the messages from this research

could indeed be utilised to inform and shape policy. Some of the key messages, limitations and recommendations are outlined below.

The research clearly demonstrates that policy makers need to rethink their stance on young people. Ultimately this research has revealed the negative impacts that policing can have on young people; has provided contrary to dominant assumptions/research that the policing of working class young people does not have to be discriminatory, antagonistic or negative; it has revealed insights into young people's views about fears, harm and safety in public space; and increased our understanding of young people and the issues that they face.

This research has illuminated the meanings associated with policing on the part of young people and also considered the interaction between young people and agencies of social control. The narratives of young people in both localities challenged common assumptions about the policing of working class and middle class young people. In Sandton middle class young people reported being over-policed. In Rockford, working class young people's perceptions and experiences were more positive but wider mechanisms of social control were evident in the form of 'preventive' strategies. The study raised questions about the efficacy and legitimacy of such practices in both localities. Because of the uniqueness of place, class differences evolved that challenged common and dominant assumptions about the policing of working class and middle class young people.

The research findings revealed that in popular tourist resorts the policing of the area benefits the consumer/visitor not the resident and revealed negativity and tensions between the police and young people - yet interestingly these were middle class young people. The research findings suggested that criminalising approaches have a distinctly negative impact on the existing and future potential relations between young people and agencies of youth governance - be it police or broader multi-agency networks. As such, there is a need to explore the impact that such interventions have on young people's trust in formal and informal impositions of adult authority. Embedding local consultative and inclusionary processes for working 'with', not 'on',

young people as participants, as opposed to 'subjects' (Hallett and Prout, 2003; Kiernan, 1999), would almost certainly optimise trust and facilitate greater levels of inclusion. It is of paramount importance that we encourage young peoples' participation in all matters that affect them (Polk 1997; White 1996). In particular to involve young people in crime prevention strategies in their own locality so as 'to see them as part of part of the community, not as merely threats to it' (White 1998: 131). This research has also advocated for young people's rights to be paramount to their social, educational, cultural and economic development and well-being (see United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989). By including young people in the decision making process, by involving them at the local level in their communities, informing them of decisions would empower young people and be a positive step to take.

Further ethnographic research is required in order to understand the impact of the funding cuts upon the lives of the young people. The proposed ethnographic research would recognise 'expressions of perceived need... through on-going engagement with groups of young people in local areas' (Case, 2006: 176). The suggested research might explore the following areas concerning the impact of government cuts at the micro level: the resources and opportunities now available, the impact upon young people's perceptions of safety and their lives in an already deprived area in Rockford and in an over-policed Sandton. The successful rapport building undertaken with the young people over an extensive period of time at each youth organisation provides the opportunity to revisit both sites. Whilst acknowledging the closure of the youth organisation in Rockford, contact has still continued with the young people therefore allowing the opportunity to revisit the site.

There is also a case for further research to be conducted in coastal resorts. First coastal resorts are often under-researched because they are unique in terms of place, falling between urban towns and cities and rural towns and villages. Second research into youth governance and crime control are often undertaken in cities. However, coastal resorts are often the most deprived places in the country. Coastal resorts can 'suffer from above-average deprivation...in terms of health and disability,

employment and income compared to the rest of the country' (Davies 2013:1). There is also much to be considered on the importance of place and the unique demographic and social relations encountered with growing up in the marginal spaces of coastal resorts and places of tourism. This would further extend sociological analysis by explicitly privileging areas that are neither rural nor urban in form, as this research did. In further recognising the limited available ethnographic studies on social issues such as homelessness, transient populations and other health difficulties associated with young people and coastal resorts (see Department of Health 2004) there is a case to be made for future exploration. These issues were all touched upon in the fieldwork, however, knowledge remains limited.

Concluding remarks

This thesis invites us to consider where we are at now. Amidst a climate of cuts and high unemployment rates we have a deepening problem of a population of young people with no legitimate space, which is precisely the same situation that existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 2013, youth unemployment reached an all-time high in England and Wales, and nearly 60 per cent of young people were unemployed in some European states (Burgen, 2013). Also, since 2012, approximately £60 million of funding has been withdrawn from the UK's youth services (Unison, 2014: 5). Amidst this climate, governments and policy makers alike continue to voice persistent concerns about 'inadequate parenting' 'education' and 'employment', disturbingly reminiscent of the same obsessions documented in 1816 concerning the 'problem of youth' illustrated in Chapters Two and Three. Demonisation, criminalisation and the blaming of youth for all social ills are unhelpful and repeat past errors in policy and judgement. 'The contemporary situation cannot be attributed to young people's misbehaviour; it is rather the fault of an adult society, which has come to see "youth" as a problematic social category. Misplaced nostalgia for the past has dangerous consequences' (Wills, 2009). Synthesising new ethnographic research with existing debates about the relationship between young

people, policing and public space, has the potential to create a greater understanding of what works and what does not.

The research findings presented here have illustrated that socio-economic characteristics and class profoundly structure and shape young people's experiences and perceptions (sometimes in unexpected ways). Social class impacted upon several issues explored throughout the thesis namely: access, restrictions and navigating public space; leisure pursuits; the formation of youth identities; attachment to place; fear and anxiety; policing (in both its specific/formal and generic/informal manifestations) and young people's securities and insecurities.

The research findings significantly illustrated the problematisation of young people in public space, which, as acknowledged in Chapter Two, have been perennial concerns since the early nineteenth century (particularly, although not exclusively, for working class young people on 'the streets'). The context for the research - two very different coastal resorts in socio-economic terms as detailed in Chapter Five - accounted for many differences in the policing and governance of young people emphasising hybridised architectures of governance, regulation and control.

This research set out to explore the ways in which young people conceptualise and experience policing, crime, safety, and security at the local level in two coastal resorts. The central focus was young people's experiences. The ethnographic approach and the utilisation of participatory methods allowed voices to be foregrounded which would have almost certainly been left unheard if an alternative method of study had been employed. The data was principally 'produced by the simple act of listening to those usually voiceless others' (Squires and Stephens, 2005: 154). Ethnography therefore has the potential to correct misguided and misleading populist discourses in respect of young people. It provides evidence that assumptions about young people cannot be generalised, are 'place' specific and it ultimately contributes to a greater knowledge about young people's lives in the contemporary world.

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Appendix 1: Consent form for young people in Sandton.



Consent Form

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Researcher: Sarah Tickle

Thank you for your time and help with my research. Are you sure that you have understood the research by reading the information sheet? If not, please ask me more questions.

If you agree to take part and then change your mind this is fine and you do not have to give a reason.

No one will know who you are in the study as I will not use your real name or any details that might identify you.

If, in the future, you would like to speak to me about the research, please give me a call on 0151 794 2543, or email me at s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk
I would be very happy to answer any questions.

**Please tick
one box**

1. I agree to take part in the above study and for it to be audio recorded.

☐

Or

2. I agree to take part in the study, but not to be audio recorded.

☐

Participant name

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Consent form for young participants
1st July 2011
SJT – Version 1.

1 for participant; 1 for researcher

Appendix 2 Consent form for young People in Rockford



Consent Form

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Researcher: Sarah Tickle

Thank you for your time and help with my research. Are you sure that you have understood the research by reading the information sheet? If not, please ask me more questions.

If you agree to take part and then change your mind this is fine and you do not have to give a reason.

No one will know who you are in the study as I will not use your real name or any details that might identify you.

If, in the future, you would like to speak to me about the research, please give me a call on 0151 794 2543, or email me at s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk
I would be very happy to answer any questions.

**Please tick
one box**

1. I agree to take part in the above study and for it to be audio recorded. ☐

Or

2. I agree to take part in the study, but not to be audio recorded. ☐

Participant name Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Consent form for young participants
1st July 2011
SJT – Version 1.

1 for participant; 1 for researcher

Appendix 3: Letter to young people in Sandton



Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

18th January 2011

Dear participant,

I am a researcher at the University of Liverpool exploring young people's views and experiences of policing, crime, safety, and security in Sandton. I am asking you whether you would like to take part in a study. This will involve being interviewed by me at the [youth organisation] between now and April 2011.

It will be a chance for you to talk and express your opinions on things that you experience everyday. I really want to know your views on things like, where you go, and what you think the area is like for young people, and how safe you feel in the area. It is hoped that you will find the questions interesting and that you will be happy that your views are part of a research study.

After I have written up my study it is hoped that my findings will be read by people at organisations that work with young people and also by local and national policy makers. This is to make sure that your voice is heard, and in the future your opinion may help towards policy makers and others understanding a young person's experience of policing, crime, safety, and security in Sandton.

If you would like to be involved please ask me for an information pack. In here will be a letter and consent form for you to take home and an information sheet for you to read.

After reading all the information and wanting to take part please return to me your signed consent form, (by your parent, carer, guardian), at one of the [youth organisation] nights and we can then arrange a time whilst you are at the [youth organisation] for the interview to take place.

Many thanks

Sarah Tickle

Letter – Interviews
18th January 2011
SJT – Version 1.

Appendix 4: Letter to young people in Sandton about photographic method



Camera activity

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the study. I will give you a disposable camera to take photographs of things and places that represent the words that I have given to you at the bottom of this page.

What to do:

I would like you to use the camera to take photographs of the following words below. The camera can take 27 pictures so please feel free to take as many photographs as you like of what each word means to you, making sure there is at least one photograph for each word.

Once you have taken photographs of the places or things that you think the words represent whatever is left on the camera you can use for yourself.

Once you have taken all the photographs you must return the camera back to me at the youth organisation. Then I will get these photographs developed, a copy for you and a copy for the study. Once all cameras are back in we will have an activity session in the youth organisation with the photos.

Please make sure though that you have at least one photograph for each word.

I would like you to take photographs of

- A safe place
- A safe place with friends
- Something that is anti-social
- A fun place
- A young person's place
- An old person's place
- An adult place
- A place that the police control
- A sad place
- A happy place

Many thanks

Sarah

Appendix 5: Letter to young people in Rockford about photographic method



Camera activity

What to do:

- Take 1 or 2 photographs of each word below (what it means to you)
 - When you have you can use the rest of the camera to take pictures for yourself of whatever you want
 - Bring the camera back to me (Sarah) at the youth café so that I can get them developed
 - There will be 1 copy for you and 1 copy for me
 - Once developed we will have an activity session in the youth café with the photographs
 - Don't forget there will be a prize for the best photographs taken.
 - Please make sure that you have at least one photograph for each word.
 - I would like you to take photographs of
- A safe place
 - A safe place with friends
 - Something that is anti-social
 - A fun place
 - A young person's place
 - An old person's place
 - An adult place
 - A place that the police control
 - A sad place
 - A happy place

Many thanks

Sarah

Appendix 6: Participant Information Sheet for young people for Photographic Method



Participant Information Sheet for young people aged between 10 and 17 years old to use a disposable camera.

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you want to do so, it is important that you know what the study is about and what it involves. Please read the following information and if you would like to know more or have questions about it, please ask me (Sarah) about it. There will be plenty of time to talk to me about it before you decide and you do not have to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the study about?

The study is about your views on safety, security and public space here in (place). For example what you think about the area, what your views are about public space, and whether you feel safe on your own or in groups around the area. This study is part of my research at the University of Liverpool and I will be around for six months whilst I am doing this. I have obtained enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) clearance.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You are being asked to take part because you are aged between 10 and 17 years old and you live or spend your leisure time in (place). I have chosen (place) because it is a coastal resort and I want to find out what your views are here.

Do I have to take part?

No you don't have to take part. You should only take part if you want to. If you decide to take part and then change your mind, this is fine and you can say so at anytime and you don't have to give a reason.

By agreeing to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. Another consent form will also need to be signed by your parent, carer, or guardian.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will set up a time that is good for you and other young people who have agreed to take part, to talk about using a camera to take photographs. I will give you a disposable camera and a list of words and ask you every day for a week to take a picture that you think represents that word, like a safe place, or a place that you spend lots of time at. When you have done this you will give the camera to me so that I can print the photographs for you. When the photographs are printed I will set up another time which is

Participant Information Sheet for use of a disposable camera for young participants
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good for you to come and see the photographs and talk about them. I will keep a copy and you will have your own personal copy. You will then talk to me about the photographs so that I can get a better understanding of the area from your point of view.

Are there any risks in taking part?

No. You are asked to take photographs of places. You must not take photographs of other people. If you do take photographs of other people these will not be included the study but you can keep them for yourself.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

No. But it is an opportunity for you to be involved by taking photographs of places that mean something to you. It is hoped that you will find taking photographs fun and talking about them afterwards interesting.

Will I be identified in the study?

Your name will not be used anywhere in this study. You will not be identified if you take part in this study.

If you say anything which means you or someone else has been or may be seriously harmed or about serious harmful offences about you or someone else, this will not be included in the study. I will have to make sure that the right people know about it.

What will happen to the results of the study?

I will take notes and these will be kept secure and safe at the University of Liverpool. Only I will have access to them. This will be kept until the end of my study October 2013.

The notes I take will be used to form part of my study on young people's views on safety and public space in the area. A summary report will be made and will be given to (organisation). You can also have a copy of this report too, by letting me know that you would like a copy.

After I have written up my study and given the (Organisation) a report, I also hope that my findings will be read by people at agencies that work with young people. This is so that your views will be heard, and in the future your opinion may help others to understand what your experience of safety, security and public space in the area is like.

Who can I contact if I have further questions?

Please feel free to contact me for further questions:

Sarah Tickle

Office 1.40

University of Liverpool

School of Sociology & Social Policy

Eleanor Rathbone Building

Bedford Street South

Liverpool

L69 7ZA

Tel: +44 (0) 151 794 2543

Mob: 07751584469

Email: s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk

Participant Information Sheet for use of a disposable camera for young participants

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Appendix 7: Participant Information Sheet for young people for Interviews



Participant Information Sheet for young people aged between 10 and 17 years old for interviews.

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you want to do so, it is important that you know what the study is about and what it involves. Please read the following information and if you would like to know more or have questions about it, please ask me (Sarah) about it. There will be plenty of time to talk to me about it before you decide and you do not have to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the study about?

The study is about your views on safety, security and public space here in (place). For example what you think about the area, what your views are about public space, and whether you feel safe on your own or in groups around the area. This study is part of my research at the University of Liverpool and I will be around for six months whilst I am doing this. I have obtained enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) clearance.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You are being asked to take part because you are aged between 10 and 17 years old and you live or spend your leisure time in (place). I have chosen (place) because it is a coastal resort and I want to find out what your views are here.

Do I have to take part?

No you don't have to take part. You should only take part if you want to. If you decide to take part and then change your mind, this is fine and you can say so at anytime and you don't have to give a reason. By agreeing to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. Another consent form will also need to be signed by your parent, carer, or guardian.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will set up a time that is good for you to come and talk to me about your views on safety and public space in the area. This will take place at (Organisation) where youth workers and adults that are known to you will be around.

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How long will the interview last?

About half an hour.

Will the interview be recorded?

I'd like to record the interview so that afterwards I can listen to what you said to make sure I remember everything. Only I will listen to the tape, but if you are not happy about this, I will take notes instead if that's ok.

Are there any risks in taking part?

No, but what you talk about in the interview could be around topics that have/or do upset you. For this reason you can ask me to stop the interview at any time. It will be up to you if you want to have a break, carry on or stop. Afterwards if you would like to speak to someone about this then I will contact someone for you.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

Not directly. But it is a chance for you to talk and express your opinions on things that you experience everyday. I really want to know your views on things like, where you go, and what you think the area is like for young people. It is hoped that you will find it interesting and that you will be happy that your views are part of a research study. After I have written up my study it is hoped that my findings will be read by people at organisations that work with young people and also by local and national policy makers.

Will I be identified in the study?

Your name will not be used anywhere in this study. You will not be identified if you take part in this study.

If you say anything which means you or someone else has been or may be seriously harmed or about serious harmful offences about you or someone else, this will not be included in the study. I will have to make sure that the right people know about it.

What will happen to the results of the study?

I will take notes and these will be kept secure and safe at the University of Liverpool. Only I will have access to them. This will be kept until the end of my study September 2014.

The notes I take will be used to form part of my study on young people's views on safety and public space in the area. A summary report will be made and will be given to (organisation). You can also have a copy of this report too, by letting me know that you would like a copy.

After I have written up my study and given the (Organisation) a report, I also hope that my findings will be read by people at agencies that work with young people. This is so that your views will be heard, and in the future your opinion may help others to understand what your experience of safety, security and public space in the area is like.

Participant Information Sheet for interviews for young participants.
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Who can I contact if I have further questions?

Please feel free to contact me for further questions:

Sarah Tickle
Office 1.40
University of Liverpool
School of Sociology & Social Policy
Eleanor Rathbone Building
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Liverpool
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Appendix 8: Letter to Parent, Carer, Guardian in Sandton.



Date 18th January 2011

Dear Parent, Carer or Guardian,

I am a researcher at the University of Liverpool exploring young people's perceptions and experiences about policing, crime, safety and security in Sandton. I am keen to interview, young people in order that they have an opportunity to share their opinions about these issues. I am writing to seek your permission to interview your son/daughter.

I have been working with (name and position at the youth organisation) to arrange for this research to be carried out. The interview will be anonymised. Your son/daughter will not be identified in the study, as real names and details will not be used.

A participant information sheet is also included which gives all relevant information about the research that your son/daughter has read. Please read this for further information.

If you would like to speak to me about the research, please give me a call on 0151 794 2543 or by email to s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk. I would be very happy to give you some more information or answer any questions that you may have.

If you are willing to let your son/daughter participate, I would be very grateful if you could complete and return the accompanying form. Your son/daughter can return the form to me when they visit the youth organisation again.

Many thanks

Sarah Tickle

Appendix 9: Letter to Parent, Carer, Guardian in Rockford



1st September 2011

Dear (Parent, Carer or Guardian),

I am from the University of Liverpool and I have been volunteering at [place] with [youth manager] since May 2011. I am doing a study which explores young people's views and experiences of safety, security and public space in Rockford. I am keen to interview young people about this so that they have the opportunity to voice their opinions and share this with me as part of the study.

I am writing to seek your permission to interview your son/daughter.
Your son/daughter will not be identified in the study, as real names and details will not be used.

If you are willing to let your son/daughter participate, I would be very grateful if you could sign and return the consent form at the bottom of the page. Your son/daughter can return the form to me when they visit [youth organisation] again.

If you would like to speak to me about the research, please give me a call on 0151 794 2543 or by email to s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk. I would be very happy to give you some more information or answer any questions that you may have.

Many thanks

Sarah

Consent Form

To be completed:

Yes, I give permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed for the purpose of this research

☐

No, I do not give my permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed for the purpose of this research

☐

Young person's name: Date:

Signed (Parent, Carer, Guardian):

Appendix 10: Consent form for Parent, Carer, Guardian in Sandton



Consent form

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Researcher: Sarah Tickle

Yes, I give permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed

☐

No, I do not give my permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed

☐

Son/daughter's name:

Name (printed):

Signed:

Dated:

Appendix 11: Consent form for Parent, Carer, Guardian in Rockford.



Consent form

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Researcher: Sarah Tickle

Yes, I give permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed

☐

No, I do not give my permission for my son/daughter to be interviewed

☐

Son/daughter's name:

Name (printed):

Signed:

Dated:

Parental Consent Form – Interviews
October 1st 2010.
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Appendix 12: Outreach Questions - Schedule



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Q1. How old are you?

Q2. What school or college do you go to? (If you do)

Q3. Where do you live?

Leisure time:

Q4. Do you go to any sports centres, youth clubs or facilities provided for young people? (If yes please explain. If no go to Q5)

Q5. Why do you not go to youth centres/facilities?

Q6. What would make you go to a youth centre/facility?

Q7. How would you describe the things for young people to do in the area?

Q8. What would you like there to be for young people to do in [place]?

Q9. How much time do you spend hanging around in town/streets etc...? (Which days, nights for example?)

Q10. Do you hang around in the same spot or different places?

Q11. Who do you hang around with? How many?

Q12. Does your group or other groups of young people call themselves by a group name?

Q13. Why do you hang around in town/streets?

Q14. What do you do in your groups?

Q15. When you are hanging around in town/street do you feel quite free to do what you want or not?

Q16. Are there many groups of other young people that hang around up town/streets etc...? If yes, do you know them?

Q17. How do you get on with other groups of young people?

Q18. Do different groups of young people hang around in different parts?

Q19. Do adults complain about your group or other young people hanging around together in town/streets?

Police

Q20. How often do the police speak to you?

Q21. How do you get on with the police?

Q22. Have you ever been moved on by the police?

Q23. Have you ever been stopped and searched by the police?

Q24. Are there any places that you can't go because of the police?

Q25. Have you ever reported anything to the police?

Safety and public space

Q26. How safe do you feel hanging around in [place] in the day?

Q27. How safe do you feel hanging around in [place] after dark?

Q28. Are there any places you wouldn't go to because it's unsafe?

Q29. Have you ever been frightened by other people's behaviour in public space?

Q30. What would make you feel safer in the area?

Q31. If you were on your own and walked past another group of young people how would you feel?

Q32. What do you worry about most being a young person in the area?

Q33. Have you ever been a victim of any of the following in the past 12 months?

☐ Something of yours stolen

☐ Assault

☐ Been threatened

☐ Harassed by another person

If yes, please explain:

Q34. What do you think about anti-social behaviour? Who or what do you think it is?

Q35. Lastly, if anything, what for you is the biggest problem in [place]?

Appendix 13: Interview Schedule



Draft schedule of topics and questions for interviews

Title of study:

Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Interview schedule:

(Where you live/place will be used accordingly depending on if the young person lives or spends time in the area)

About the young person's leisure time:

How would you describe the things for young people to do in the area?

Can you tell me about this?

(Prompts: what do you do, where do you go, who with, when – different times/places for different ages?)

Area:

How long have you lived/spent time in the area?

What are the best things about living here?

What are the worse things about living here?

How often do you see children or young people playing in the streets where you live?

What are the adults like where you live?

(Prompts: do you know most of them, do they tell you off?)

Have you been involved in any projects, events or schemes where you live?

If so who organises them?

Police and public space:

Can you tell me about the police in the area?

(Prompts: how often do you see them, how do you get on with them, have you ever been told to move on, stopped, or have your friends?)

Are there any places that you can't go because of the police?

Can you tell me about this?

Are there any places that you can't go because of adults?

Can you tell me about this?

Do you feel quite free to do what you want when you are out or not?

(Prompts: how do you behave, do you feel controlled?)

Have you ever reported anything to the police?

What kind of things would you tell the police about?

(Prompts: have any of your friends?)

Have the police ever been into your school (if of school age) to talk to you about safety in the area?

Safety and public space

How safe do you feel where you live?

Topics and questions for young participants

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Could you tell me about this?
(Prompts: During the day, after dark, where do you feel unsafe?)
Have you ever felt frightened?
Could you tell me about this?
Have you ever been frightened by other people's behaviour in public space?
What would make you feel safer in the area?
Has anyone ever stolen anything of yours?
If so could you tell me about this?
What do you worry about most being a young person in the area?
Can you tell me about this?
(Prompts: what would make you worry less?)
What, if anything, do you think are the problems in this area?
Could you tell me about these?
(Prompts: Who deals with them, what happens?)

Young people and public space:

Do many young people in your area hang around where you live?
Could you tell me about this?
(Prompts: where, why, ages, experience of?)
Do people complain about young people hanging around together on the streets where you live?
If so what happens?
Do you think young people feel safer hanging around with other young people?
If so why?
Do different ages of young people hang around in different parts?

Appendix 14: Participant Information Sheet for Professionals



Participant Information Sheet for interviews with professionals.

Title of study: Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask me if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand. Please also feel free to discuss this with other people if you wish. I would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the study about?

The study is about exploring young people's perceptions and experiences of policing, crime safety, and security in their locality. Two small urban localities have been selected, one in England and one in Wales, in order to compare and contrast young people's experiences. The study also wants to explore other main issues of concern both within and outside of crime prevention discourses and practices for young people. The study aims to collect information from young people through a variety of methods such as interviews, focus groups and visual methods in order to gain an in-depth understanding of their perceptions. Part of this study is also to interview people who work with young people in relation to crime prevention, to include perspectives from professionals in the field. This will add more depth to the overall study and will also provide the opportunity to compare 'perceptions' between young people and professionals.

This study is part of my doctoral work at the University of Liverpool and I will be spending six months in each locality to collect the data. I have obtained enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) clearance.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You have been asked to take part because you are a professional that I have identified as working in the relevant field. Your perspective therefore is one that I would like to include in the study.

Do I have to take part?

No you do not have to take part. Participation is voluntary and if you decide to participate you are free to withdraw at anytime without explanation.

Participant Information Sheet for professionals
July 1st 2011.
SJT – Version 1.

What will happen if I take part?

Before you decide to take part in this study I will answer any questions or give further information about the study arising from this information sheet. If you agree to be interviewed I will then arrange a time that is convenient with you for the interview to take place at your workplace or venue of your choice. Interviews may take between 45 minutes and one hour. Permission will be asked first if the interview can be tape recorded, and if this is refused permission will be sought to take notes. You will be asked to sign a written consent form. I will ask questions relating to young people and topics that are related to your profession. Your viewpoint on this topic is greatly appreciated and highly respected and the interview will be flexible allowing for you to elaborate on any particular points of interest or concern.

Are there any risks in taking part?

There are no risks involved in taking part in this research.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

There are no direct benefits with taking part in this study. However it is hoped that you find the research study interesting.

What will happen if I want to stop taking part?

You may withdraw from the study at anytime without explanation. Results up to the period of withdrawal may be used if you are happy for this to be done. Otherwise you may request that they are destroyed and no further use will be made of them.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

Your name will not be used anywhere in this study. You will be given a pseudonym/number to ensure this. All data will be stored securely at the University of Liverpool in compliance with the Data Protection Act and only I will have access to this data. Confidentiality will be maintained at all stages of the research. Due to your profession in the field you may be identifiable owing to your position, however every effort will be made to ensure anonymity and this will be discussed prior to the interview. Due to the nature of this research serious or highly controversial questions will not be asked as this is not the intention of the interview.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The information collected will be used to form part of my thesis on young people's perceptions and experiences of safety, security and public space. The thesis will be submitted to the University of Liverpool for academic assessment.

Participant Information Sheet for professionals
July 1st 2011.
SJT – Version 1.

A summary report will be produced which will be available to you if you would like a copy. I will also be happy to discuss at a later date the findings with you.

What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?

If you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please feel free to let me know by contacting me via the contact details below. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, you should contact the Research Governance Officer on 0151 794 8290 or at ethics@liv.ac.uk. You will have to provide details about the researcher, description of the study and the complaint you wish to make.

Who can I contact if I have further questions?

Please feel free to contact me for further questions or for an informal discussion about the research.

Sarah Tickle
Office 1.40
University of Liverpool
School of Sociology & Social Policy
Eleanor Rathbone Building
Bedford Street South
Liverpool
L69 7ZA

Tel: +44 (0) 151 794 2543
Mob: 07751584469
Email: s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk

Appendix 15: Consent Form Professionals



Consent Form

Title of research study:

Young People in Coastal Resorts: A critical exploration of class, place, governance and safety.

Researcher: Sarah Tickle

Please tick
the box

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet dated 1st October 2010 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected. ☐
3. I understand that, under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish. ☐
4. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Participant Name

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

The contact details of the lead Researcher are:

Sarah Tickle
Office 1.40
University of Liverpool
School of Sociology & Social Policy
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Liverpool
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Mob: 07751584469

Email: s.j.tickle@liv.ac.uk

Consent form for professionals

1st October 2010

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